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# IMPRIMATUR

Hic Liber cui Titulus, *A*  
*Discourse of Superstition, &c.*

May 11.  
1678.

*Guill. sill*, R. P. D. *Henr.*  
Episc. *Lond.* à sacris Do-  
mesticis.

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A  
DISCOURSE  
OF  
Superstition

With respect to the  
PRESENT TIMES.

WHEREIN

The Church of *ENGLAND* is Vindicated from the Imputation, and the Charge retorted not only on the *Papists*, but also on men of other Perswasions.

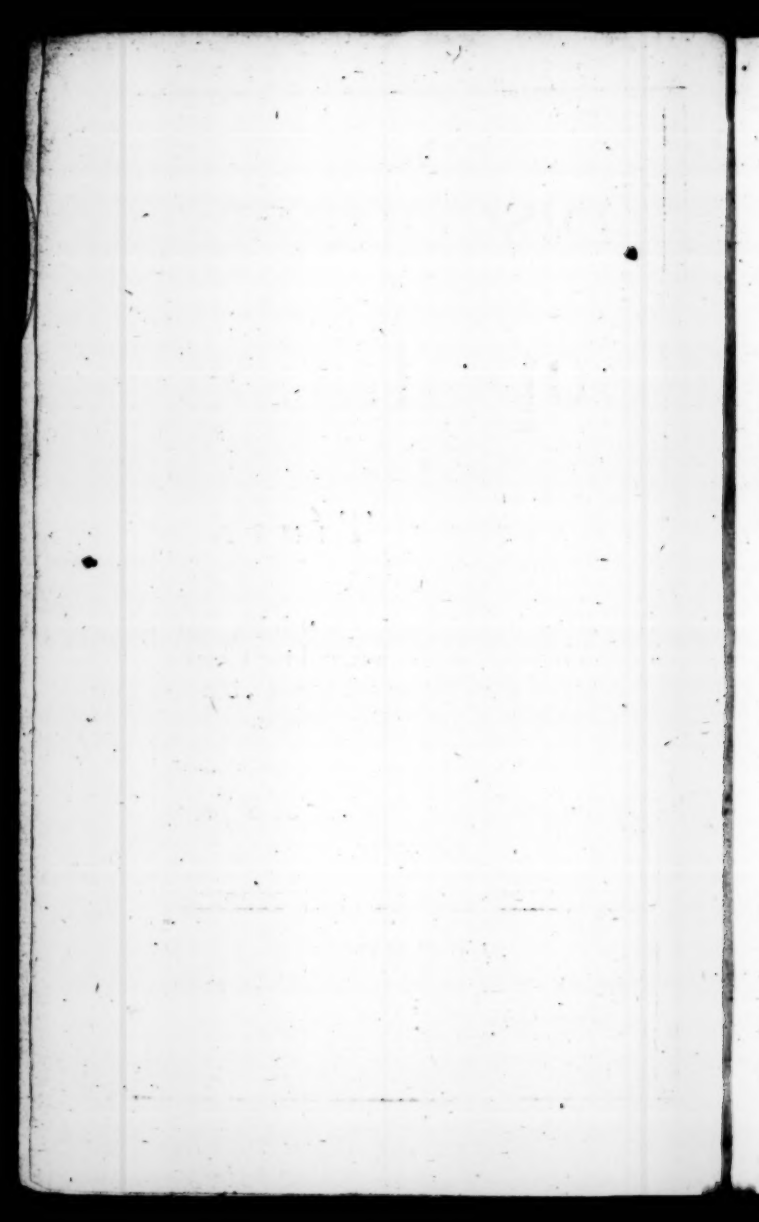
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By *William Shelton*, Rector of *S<sup>t</sup> James Colchester*.

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L O N D O N,

Printed by *J. M.* for *Jonathan Robinson*, at the Golden Lyon in *S<sup>t</sup> Paul's Church-Yard*,  
MDC LXXVIII.



To the  
RIGHT REVEREND  
FATHER in GOD,  
AND  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
**HENRY**  
LORD BISHOP  
OF  
**LONDON,**

One of His Majesties most Honour-  
able Privy-Council, &c.

*May it please your Lordship,*

**T**Here is none to whom I  
owe account of my self  
and Studies, more than to

A 3

your

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

your *Lordship* as my *Diocesan*. None to whom I more readily submit this Essay, which endeavours to do Right to the *Church of England*, whose Honour and Security is so great a part of your *Lordships* care, as to challenge the acknowledgment of all Pens. The Moderation of our *Church* (which ought to be esteem'd her Glory) in receding no farther from the *Church of Rome*, than she has receded from Primitive Christianity, is objected as a Crime, by the eager men of the *separation*.

Our First Reformers were  
Wise

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

Wise men, and (Thanks be to God) so are their Successors too. Their Wisdom in the first compiling, and late Review of our *Liturgy*, has directed them to keep *the mean between the Two Extreams*, of too much stiffness in refusing, and too much easiness in admitting variations. So by the good Providence of God, have we been deliver'd from the *superstitions* of the *Romish Church*; and so have we been preserved from a *superstitious* avoiding *superstition*.

As the Kingdom of *England* is famous for being the Balance of *Europe*; so is the

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

*Church of England*, for being, by a regular Reformation, well fix'd in a due distance between the *superstitious* additions of the *Church of Rome*, where *Supremacy*, *Infallibility*, and the *Inquisition* compel men to *swallow Camels*, and the *superstitious Abstinences* of those who *strain at Gnats*, and either will not Understand the notion of a thing *Indifferent*, or will not rightly infer from it.

To evince this, is the Design of the following Tract, which in all humility I offer to your *Lordships* Patronage, being thereto embolden'd,  
by

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

by the Experience I have had of your *Lordships* Candor and Favour, which by how much the less I have merited, I ought the more to acknowledge.

God Almighty preserve your *Lordship* to a long *Presidency* in this *Church*: and bless the joint labours and cares of the Right Reverend my *Lords the Bishops*, to such an happy Repair of our Breaches; that neither the *Wild-Boar*, nor the *Foxes*, may spoil our Vineyard: to be such a defence upon the *Glory of this Church*, that  
neither

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*  
neither the *Romanist* nor *Se-*  
*paratist*, may stain or darken  
it. So prayeth,

*Your Lordships*  
*in all Humility*  
*and Obedience,*

W. SHELTON.

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P. 144

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p. 171

E R.

## ERRATA.

**P**Age 95. line 9. for where insignificant, read wherein significant, p. 149. l. 13. for rest r. rests; the lesser faults are left to the ingenuity of the Reader to correct or pardon.

---

**T**Here is lately published the seventh Edition of a Body of Divinity, &c. By the most Reverend Father in God, *James Usher*, late Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, to which is added his Life, containing many remarkable passages never before Extant. Sold by *Jonathan Robinson*, at the Golden-Lyon in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

1

A  
DISCOURSE  
OF  
Superstition

With respect to the  
PRESENT TIMES, &c.

**T**HE prejudices and disaffection Sect. 1.  
ons which have alienated so  
many from the Communion of the  
*Church of England*, owe themselves  
to no Original more; than to an  
Opinion taken up, that some Usages  
in our Church are *Superstitious*; An  
Opinion strongly concluded; but  
upon weak grounds, and by a Pro-  
cess very illogical. For when the

B

Adver-

*A Discourse of Superstition,*

Adversaries of our Order and Peace, have amply represented, how jealous God is of his Honour, how severely he hath threatned the breaches of the second Commandment, and how sorely he hath punished the Idolatry of the Jews; in the application of these things to our Times, *Superstition* and *Idolatry* are frequently join'd, as equally forbidden in that Commandment, and without more proof the *Church of England* is supposed guilty of *Superstition*, and good people are exhorted to come out of her, upon pain of partaking of those Plagues which Idolaters have reason to fear.

From the times of *Queen Elizabeth* down to our days, *Superstition* hath been laid to our Charge. Mr

*Ecclesiastic.*

*Pol. Book*

5. 9. 4.

*Hooker* acknowledges and resents it.

So it is judged our Prayers, our Sacraments, our Fasts, our times and places of publick meeting together for the Worship  
and



The Church of Engl. Vindicated, &c.

7

and Service of God, our Marriages, our Burials, our Functions, Elections, and Ordinations Ecclesiastical, almost whatsoever we do in the exercise of our Religion, according to Laws for that purpose established, all things are some way or other thought faulty, all things stained with Superstition.

One of the Treatises that were sent abroad (as it were to give new light to a new World) 1660. under the name of M<sup>r</sup> William Bradshaw, is about things Indifferent, where he thus speaks in the Marginal Notes.

The Doctors of Oxford ask, what hurt can a wise Man see in a square Cap and a Surplice? Indeed there is no outward hurt or evil in it, but it must be considered, whether there be not any inward hurt therein; for if it can be proved, that by them the Souls of many are poisoned with superstitious conceits, then it is apparent that they have inward hurt in them.

This is but a supposition, but it fol-

Notes on the  
fifth Chap.  
of things  
Indiffe-  
rent.

*Ibid. Notes  
on Chap. 8.*

lows dogmatically, *The Ceremonies in Controversy have been and are, the special means and occasion of the Schism of many Hundred Brownists, of much Superstition in many Thousand Ignorant Protestants, and of Confirmation of many Infinites of wilful Papists in their Idolatry.* He concludes the Treatise thus: *The Ceremonies in Controversy are either excellent parts of our Religion (which he not yielding must believe the other part of the Disjunction) or notorious parts of Superstition.*

*Canon 6.*

This is the dirt that was cast upon the Church of England, in the beginning of King James his Reign, that he might be out of love with her. A reproach of which the Convocation of 1603. was so sensible (for though that Treatise came first out, a little after the Convocation, yet the suspicion was rise before) that they pass this Canon among others: *Whosoever shall hereafter affirm,*

*The Church of Engl. Vindicated, &c.*

5

*firm, the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, by Law established, are wicked, Antichristian or Superstitious, &c. Let him be Excommunicated, &c.* This Canon did not restrain the petulancy of Censorious men, for besides Mr. Bradshaws confidence; in the defence that Dr Burges makes for Bishop Morton, it appears, that the N. C<sup>ts</sup> of those times did thus argue. *The Ceremonies of the Church of England have been and still are abused to Idolatry and Superstition by the Papists. And that we cannot be thought sincerely to have repented of that Idolatry and Superstition, except we cast away with detestation all the Instruments of it. Once more, they say, That a superstitious construction is made of our Cross, not only by the Papists, but by our own Canons and Canonical Imposers of it.*

Burges Answer Rejoined Chap. 4 §. 1.

Id. ib. §. 4.

Id. ib. §. 79.

These Jealousies did but fly in the dark during King James his

B 3

Reign,

Reign, but soon after Charles the First came to the Throne, he received divers Complaints of this nature :

Rushworth  
Historical  
Collections,  
p. 526.

The Parliament, Anno 1628, complains of Idolatry and Superstition as some of those heinous and crying sins, which were the undoubted Cause of those evils that were fallen upon them.

Id. ib. p.  
621.

The Remonstrance which the Commons of the same Parliament made against the then Duke of Buckingham, expresses their fears concerning Innovation of Religion. A while after Mr. Rouse makes a Speech concerning Religion, wherein he desires it may be considered, what new paintings are laid on the old face of the Whore of Baby-

Id. p. 645,  
646.

lon. How the See of Rome does eat into our Religion, and fret into the banks and walls of it: for a remedy of which, he propounds the expedient of a Covenant, to hold fast God and Religion, to which Covenant he would have every man say Amen. This man does not

(it

(it is true) speak of *Superstition*, but he is understood to mean it, by another Orator of the same House (Mr. Pym) who complains *that the Law* Ib. p. 647. *was violated in bringing in superstitious Ceremonies.* After whom, another in the same Session (Sir John Eliott) apprehends a fear of some Ib. p. 649. Bishops then in place, that if they should be in their power, they might be in danger of having Religion overthrown, because *some of them were Masters of Ceremonies, and laboured to introduce new Ceremonies into the Church.*

After those eager Debates, the motion for a Covenant slept for some years, but was renewed again in the Unhappy Times of the Fatal Parliament. In the times when it was a great part of the Impeachment against the Great Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, that he had traiterously endeavoured to alter and subvert Gods true Religion by law established in this

Artic. of Impeach.  
7. 10.

Realm, and instead thereof to set up Popish superstition and Idolatry, and that he traiterously endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome. In these times it was that Mr. Rouse's motion ripen'd up to a Solemn League and Covenant, wherein they obliged themselves to endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, and Superstition. By which words the Covenanters (as some of them have since declar'd) believe themselves obliged against Conformity; for, this reason they give in a Book they call *a Sober and Temperate Discourse concerning the Interest of words in Prayer, &c.* in which the Title of one of their Chapters is: *The Ministers Third Reason, viz. why they do not meddle with the Common Prayer* (as are the words of the Chapter) *is, because they have sworn to endeavour a reformation in worship, and to endeavour to extirpate Superstition.*

Chap. 10.

Nothing

Nothing now can be more evident, than that both of old, and in our times *Superstition* is objected to us. It does not come in my way to condemn, nor do I take upon me to justify the practises of all particular persons; I concern my self only in the legal Establishments of our Church, and they would little need a vindication, if men would take the pains to enquire into the nature of *Superstition*; for they would soon find the Innocence of our Rites would defend themselves from this suspicion. But it is our Unhappiness that we have to deal with men who take things upon trust, who are not easily undeceived, because they will maintain a Conclusion, before they have examined the premises: observing *Superstition* to be a word that signifies somewhat bad, they condemn us without a Tryal, and before they know what it means, conclude

conclude us guilty of *Superstition*.

I have waited some while in expectation, that some abler Pen would engage in this Argument, but not finding that of late days, the Nature of *Superstition* has been particularly and fully discovered or described, I have now undertaken the task, in which because I desire to be understood, I labour for no other ornament of stile than perspicuity: And without farther Preface I proceed to enquire, what is this *Superstition* with which the Church of England is so much upbraided:

There is no Precept in the Holy Scripture that forbids *Superstition* by that name, nor does any sacred Author mention it, except St. Luke in two places to be considered in due time, when I examine how the word is used in other Authors; For by this Method, I conceive, I shall best accomplish my design, if

First,



First, I enquire into the use of the Word. And secondly, into the nature of the thing signified by such a Word.

1. *Δεισιδαιμονία* (by which the Greeks Sect. 2. express'd that which we now commonly call *Superstition*) signifies most literally a service perform'd to God or to a Dæmon, rather out of fear than love; An over-timerous and dreadful apprehension of the Deity, as the learned Smith, who also calls it a compound of Fear and Flattery; such an apprehension of God in the thoughts of men, as renders him grievous and burdensome to them. But however this may be the primary sense of the word, yet that it hath been transfer'd to signifie more largely, is evident from Greek Authors. Plutarch in his Tract, Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας, constantly discourses of it, as of an extream to Religion, to which he opposes Atheism as the other extream; Thus he

Select Discourse of Superstition. p. 26. & 36.

he begins, Τῆς περὶ Θεῶν ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀγνοίας ἐξ ἀρχῆς διχα ρυείσθαι τὸ μὲν ἢ ἀθεότητι, τὸ δὲ ἢ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐμπεποιήκεν Ignorance of God from the beginning hath run in Two Channels, one way to Atheism, and the other way to Superstition. And after he had in many like expressions, opposed them to one another he concludes, Ἐνιοὶ φεύγοντες ἢ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐμπέπυσιν εἰς ἀθεότητα, ὑπερπηδήσαντες ὅν μὲσφι κειμένην ἢ εὐσεβείαν. Some have run so far from Superstition, till they have overshoot themselves into Atheism, having neglected Religion which is the mean between both.

Dissertat.  
4ta.

Maximus Tyrius as plainly opposes the Religious, and Superstitious man. Ὁ μὲν εὐσεβὴς φίλος Θεῶν, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων ὑψιλαξ Θεῶν, &c. A Religious man is the Friend of God, A superstitious man is a Flatterer of God.

Lib. 6. §.  
30.

Antoninus gives this Character of himself, He was Θεοσεβὴς χωρὶς δεισιδαιμονίας, Religious without Superstition.

The

The Incomparable D<sup>r</sup> *Hammond* does (I know) pursue the Etymology and Original Notion of *δαιμόνιον*, in the former part of his little Tract of *Superstition*; where he gives several Interpretations of *Δαίμονες*, and afterwards gives these senses of the Compound word.

1. It is taken in general for Religion or Worshipping God.

2. For the worship of deify'd dead men, and Angels which the Heathens took to be True Gods.

3. For any part of Divine Worship which for fear of vengeance from God, any Worshipper perform'd to him.

4. For a trembling fear of Gods punishment due for every sin.

5. For the use of Magical Spells. From whence he concludes the Modern use of the word improper; but whether proper or improper, because it is use that gives the rule for our manner of speaking, therefore that must

must be considered : And that the word is used for somewhat undue in the worship of God, he himself acknowledges in these words. *That which men see those of another persuasion do; which they like not, or think them not bound to, they call it straight their Superstition.*

And that thus Authors have made use of this word, will more appear by considering the Latin word, *Superstitio*. Concerning whose Etymology all Criticks are not agreed. *Tully* discourses at large both of the name and thing, and he is the first among the Latin Authors now extant, for so far as I can find, that so translates the Greek Word : for if *Nigidius Figulus* (of whom by and by out of *A. Gellius*) were before him, yet I suppose he hath no entire Volume now extant. I therefore take some particular notice of what *Tully* says in this Matter. When he had  
given

given some natural Account of the  
Multitude of Gods that were so  
much talkt of in those Ages, and of  
the Superstitions that took rise from  
the Fables of the Poets concerning  
them, he proceeds to distinguish  
between Religion and Superstition, in  
memorable words. *Cultus Deorum* Cicero de  
Naturâ De-  
orum lib.  
2.  
*est Optimus idemq; castissimus atq; sanctis-  
simus, plenissimusq; pietatis, ut eos sem-*  
*per purâ integrâ incorruptâ & mente &*  
*voce veneremur. Non enim philosophi so-*  
*lum, verum etiam Majores nostri Super-*  
*stitionem à Religione separaverunt.*  
*Nam qui totos dies precabantur & immo-*  
*labant, ut sui liberi sibi superstites essent,*  
*Superstitiosi sunt appellati, quod nomen*  
*patuit postea latius. Qui autem omnia quæ*  
*ad Deorum cultum pertinerent, diligenter*  
*pertractarent & tanquam relegerent, sunt*  
*dicti Religiosi, &c. Ita factum est in*  
*Superstitioso & Religioso, alterum*  
*vitii Nomen, alterum laudis. The best,*  
*and purest, and most holy worship that we*  
*can*

can give to God, is to serve him with a pure and uncorrupt heart and voice. For it was not only peculiar to Philosophers, but our Forefathers also made a difference between Religion and Superstition, for they who prayed all day long and offer'd Sacrifice that their Children might survive them, were called Superstitious; A word which afterwards was extended to a larger signification: But Religious men had their name from their diligence and care in reviewing what pertained to Divine Worship. And hence it came to pass, that in the settled use of these words, Superstition was counted a Crime, Religion a praise-worthy thing. According to which distinction he had said before: *Superstitione facile est liberare, cum sustuleris omnem vim Deorum: nisi forte Diagoram aut Theodorum qui omnino Deos esse negabant, censet Superstitiosos esse potuisse. Horum enim sententiae non modo Superstitionem tollunt in qua inest Timor inanis Deorum, sed etiam*

Id. ibid.  
Ea. r.

etiam Religionem quæ Deorum cultu  
pio continetur. It is an easy matter to se-  
cure men from Superstition, if you will  
make them Atheists; Unless you think  
such Atheists as Diagoras and Théo-  
dorus could be tainted with it, whose O-  
pinions did not only root out Superstition,  
which contains in it a vain and needless  
fear of God, but true Religion too, which  
consists in a right worship of the Deity.

The reasons which this learned  
Heathen assigns of the names and  
differences between Superstition and  
Religion, Lactantius likes not, and  
therefore when he had derived Reli-  
gion à Religando; of Superstition he  
speaks thus: Superstitiosi vocantur ii,  
qui superstitum memoriam defunctorum co-  
lunt, aut qui parentibus suis superstitibus  
colebant Imagines eorum domi tanquam  
Deos penates. Nam qui novos sibi ritus  
assumebant, ut in Deorum vicem mor-  
tuos honorarent quos ex hominibus in cæ-  
lū receptos putabant, hos Superstitiosos

Lactant. de  
verâ sapi-  
entia Cap.  
28.

¶

vocabant;

*vocabant ; eos vero qui publicos & Antiquos deos colerent, Religiosos nominabant, unde Virgilius,*

*Vana superstitio veterúmque ignara Deorum.*

They were counted Superstitious who did honour to the memory of the dead, or who while their Parents were alive, worshipped their Images as if they were Household Gods : for they who took up any new Rites, in giving honour to dead men, whom they thought to be taken up to Heaven among the Gods, were so called ; whereas they were esteemed Religious, who confined themselves to the worship of those who were anciently reputed for Deities. Hence Virgil introduces Evander, excusing himself to Æneas, that the Honour he did to Hercules did not deserve the name of Superstition.

Sect. 3.

There want not other Etymologies of this word. *Isidore* is quoted for



for this, *Superstitio quasi superstatuta observatio. An instatutable, unwarrantable observation. Alii dicunt à senibus, quia multis annis superstites per ætatem delirant*: then is introduced *Lucretius, qui superstitionem dicit superstantium rerum, i.e. cælestium quæ super nos stant, for which these Verses are quoted where he huffs at all Religion.*

M. Delril  
Disquis.  
Magic. lib.  
1. Cap. 1.

*Humana ante Oculos fœdè cùm vita jaceret,  
In terris oppressa gravi sub Religione,  
Quæ caput è Cæli regionibus ostendebat,  
Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans.*

(So not only *Delrio*, but *Turnebus* also reads that Verse which others read thus,

Adversar.  
lib. 10.  
Cap. 26.

*Horribili aspectu semper mortalibus instans.)*

according to *Lucretius*, all Religion, because it concerns it self in things above us, (with which that Atheist thought we had nothing to do) de-

*A Discourse of Superstition,*

serves the name of *Superstition*.

Whatever the first Reason of this appellation might be, thus much is certain, that in ordinary use, it signified somewhat undue in Divine Worship; and of this Tully was aware, when he made the acknowledgment, of which *Lactantius* forgot to take notice. *Quod Nomen patuit postea latius.* Also *Nigidius Figulus* in his Comment upon the old Verse,

*Religentem esse oportet, Religiosum nefas.*

A. Gellii  
Noct. Attic.  
lib. 4.  
Cap. 9.

takes *Religiosus* in an ill sense as all one with *Superstition*. *Religiosus* is appellabatur qui nimia & superstitionis Religione sese alligaverat, eaq; res vitio assignabatur. He who was superstitious in his Religion (which was counted a Crime) was called a Religious man.

Senec. Epist.  
123.

Seneca expresses the Import of this word

word well, according to the Greek :  
*Superstitio error insanus est, amandos ti-*  
*met, quos colit violat, quid enim interest*  
*utrum Deos neges an infames ? Supersti-*  
*tion is a wild kind of error, it is afraid*  
*of him who ought to be loved, and dis-*  
*honours him whom it worships, for what*  
*difference is there whether you deny God*  
*or blaspheme him ? In a former Epistle*  
*he discourses thus. Audiat quemadmo-*  
*dum se gerere in sacrificiis debeat, quam*  
*procul resilire à molestis superstitioni-*  
*bus. Nunquam satis profectum erit, nisi*  
*qualem debet Deum mente conceperit. He*  
*who desires to understand himself and his*  
*Religion, let him retire as far as he can*  
*from troublesome superstitions. No man*  
*will proceed well in Religion, who hath*  
*not right Conceptions of God.*

Id. Epist.  
95.

In a like sense do other Latin Au-  
thors use the word, when they up-  
braid Christian Religion under that  
name, as apprehending it a false Re-  
ligion. So Tacitus when he speaks of

Histor. Aug.  
gust. lib.  
15.

Vit. Neron.  
Cap. 16.

Nero's laying the blame of the burning of Rome upon the Christians, calls their way *Exitiabilis Superstitio*, *A pestilent Superstition*. Suetonius also in the life of the same Nero, calls the Christians, *Genus hominum superstitionis novæ & maleficæ*. *A sort of men of a new and mischievous Superstition*. And Pliny to Trajan, gives Christian Religion the same name though with somewhat a softer Epithet. *Superstitio prava & immodica*, *An Immoderate Superstition*.

This is then the Account I gather out of Heathen Authors, mostly hitherto: the sense they had of a Deity perswaded them not only that he ought to be worshipped, but also that every kind of service would not be acceptable to him. The right worship of God (that which they so apprehended) they called *Religion*, that which was undue, and therefore unacceptable, passed under

der the name of *Superstition*. Even as *Festus* did apply the name to the Religion of the Jews, as esteeming it not the best way of worship. And *St. Paul* more truly, did so reprove the Idolatry of *Athens*. Acts 25.  
Acts 17.

When the World was better instructed in the Notion of a Deity, and in the manner of worship that was due to him, we find the word still in use among Christian Authors. *Lactantius* hath been offered already. *St. Austin* comprehends Idolatry and many other particular Customs under this Term. *Superstitiosum est, quicquid institutum est ab hominibus ad facienda & colenda Idola, pertinens vel ad colendam, sicut Deum, creaturam partemve ullam Creaturæ, vel ad consultationes & pacta quedam significationum cum Dæmonibus placita atq; fæderata, qualia sunt molimina Magicarum artium, &c. Ex quo genere sunt Haruspicum & Augurum libri, etiam omnes ligaturæ* De Doctrinâ Christianâ lib. 2.  
Cap. 20.

*atq; remedia quæ medicorum disciplina condemnat, sive in præcantationibus sive in quibusdam notis quas characteres vocant.* Idolatry and consulting with the Devil, or any kind of Witchcraft : The practices of Soothsayers, that would pretend to foretel future Events by the flying of Birds or Entrails of Beasts : Those Charms that are designed for the Cure of Diseases, of which no natural or physical account can be given : These and divers like Observations he taxes with *Superstition*.

And some of those (or others like them) which St. *Austin* there mentions, obtain still in the World : *viz.* If Rats do any mischief, to be afraid of that as an ill Omen of some death or disaster in the Family : And many other as unaccountable. If it rain or snow such a day, or be fair such a day (as *Candlemas*, and *Swithin*, and others) then the future part of  
the

the year will be so or so. These Observations have upon this account been esteemed *Superstitious*, because they are taken to be an indication of the pleasure of God as to future Events, whereas we have no assurance that they are a sufficient indication. And it may deserve enquiry, whether the Custom of praying God to bless persons when they *sneeze*, were not originally *superstitious*. I determine not in this case, because *sneezing* hath been sometimes reckoned a Disease, and then praying for such an one, is of the same import, with praying for any one in danger: but I make the doubt; because *sneezing* hath been sometimes reckoned an Omen of good or bad luck, and St. *Austin* mentions this in the same place where he speaks of *Millia in-* Id. *ibid.*  
*nissimarum observationum*, when a man does *redire ad lectum si dum se calceat sternuta verit.*

*mutaverit.* If a man chance to sneeze while he is putting on his shooes he must to bed again. These and a Thousand such observances as these, are deemed to have a relation to God, when it cannot be proved, and are therefore judg'd *superstitious*, so far as there is any Religion placed in them.

I proceed no further in examining the use of the word, than to give Three Definitions of it, from Three men of several Ages, and several ways and Opinions, but such as do all amount to one and the same purpose.

Secunda  
secundæ  
qu. 92. Art.  
1, & 2.

*Aquinas* gives it thus: *Superstitio est vitium Religioni oppositum secundum excessum, quo quis divinum exhibet cultum vel cui non debet, vel non eo modo quo debet.* And in the next Article concludes. *Multa sunt superstitionis species, ut Indebitus veri Dei cultus, Idololatria, Divinationes & varia observationum genera.*

*Zanchy*



Zanchy to the same purpose. *Manifestum est superstitionem esse Religioni* <sup>Tom. 4. lib. 1. Cap. 17.</sup>  
*oppositam & per excessum.* He adds,  
*Unde etiam fit ut omnis falsus cultus su-*  
*perstitio appelletur.*

Ames also says thus. *Superstitio est* <sup>Medul. Theolog. lib. 2. Cap. 13.</sup>  
*quâ Deo cultus indebitus exhibetur,* and  
again, *Superstitio dicitur excessus Reli-*  
*gionis.* The sum of all which is, as  
*Atheism* is a defect of Religion, so is  
*Superstition* an extream on the other  
hand, an *Excessive Religiousness*, when  
men go beyond their bounds in Di-  
vine Worship; so that all false wor-  
ship goes under the name of *Super-*  
*stition.* A man may be righteous  
over-much, and over-much wise,  
so may he also be, not too holy or  
too good, yet too *religious*, when he  
exceeds, and practises in matters of  
Religion upon Opinions false and  
unworthy of God.

This hath been the use of the  
word in approved Authors of divers  
Ages.

Ages. It hath sometimes been determined to particular practices, as Magick and Enchantments; but upon a general reason, because these are undue mixtures in Religion, for so both in Heathen and Christian Authors this difference is commonly assigned between them. *Religio est veri Cultus, superstitio falsi*, as *Lactantius* hath it. When we worship God aright that is *Religion*, when by any undue additions we corrupt *Religion*, in all those things we are *superstitious*.

Ubi prius.  
Sect. 4.

2. The Enquiry into the Nature of the thing still remains. Whereby does it appear, whether the worship we here, or others elsewhere perform to God be regular and *Religious*, or excessive & undue, and so *superstitious*? The Resolution I give to this question, I form into these Propositions.

1. *Superstition is first in the Opinion, and thence influences upon the practice.*

2. *The Doctrines upon which the Conformity*

formity of the Church of England is established, are not superstitious Opinions.

3. The Opinions that are indeed superstitious (such as are divers that obtain in the Papacy and elsewhere) are rejected by the Church of England.

4. There are superstitious Omissions, of which men may be guilty, and that then, when they seem to have a great Zeal against Superstition.

1. Superstition is first in the Opinion before it can have any influence upon the practice. Practices are unlawful, when they transgress the Commands by which they are obliged, but superstitiously unlawful they cannot be, unless they proceed from such Opinions: Hence it comes to pass, that the same practices are sometimes superstitious and sometimes not, according as mens Opinions are, by which they are perswaded to them. So is the difference between the Ch. of England, and of Rome, in the use of the Cross, in kneeling

kneeling in the act of receiving, &c. as will afterwards appear. I am not alone in thus stating the Notion of

Bishop Dur-  
ham (Mor-  
ton) *Sermon*  
on 1 Cor.  
11. 16.

Superstition. A superstitious act is that which is founded upon a superstitious Opinion. It was not meerly the Pharisees often washing, but their Opinion of some especial purgation thereby, which Christ reprehended in them. Nor was it the having an Altar for which St. Paul reprov'd the Athenians, when he call'd them superstitious, but the opinion of honouring a God thereby they knew not whom.

Eccles. Po-  
lity. Book  
5. §. 3.

To a like purpose, Mr Hooker. Superstition is when things are abhorred or observed, with a zealous or fearful, but erroneous relation to God. And in words just before. Superstition is always join'd with a wrong opinion touching things divine.

Falkener  
Libert. Ec-  
clesiast. B.  
1. Chap. 5.  
Sect. 2. §. 7.

Conformably to both these, says a late learned Author, All Superstitious, or other sinful honour of the Elements, must be founded in embracing those

those false apprehensions and corrupt Doctrines which our Church rejects.

*Δεισιμαγία* refers to the inward sense and apprehension of our minds: or if it must be distinguished between the thoughts of the mind, and the passions of the Soul; it is evident, that fear arises from such opinions and apprehensions as administer to it. Yea though *superstition* be (as hath been said) an excess of Religion, and though this excess may discover it self in the practices of men, yet the reason and that which occasions this excess, is in the Opinion.

False Notions and apprehensions of God, tempt men to try by undue ways to please him. Men have a conceit, that such services are more grateful to him than they are: Or, there is a *superstitious* observation of some Accidents, as *Prognosticks* of Events, because of an Opinion taken

ken up, that God Almighty does by such signs declare his pleasure or displeasure.

In all these Cases, the First Seat of *Superstition* is in the *Opinion*, and from thence it is derived into practice; for did these false *Opinions* which thus mislead men, cease by a better information of the understanding, the practices and observances that depend on them would also cease; or if they were continued, they would be hypocritical, or vain, or any thing rather than *superstitious*. For Example: It is *superstitious* (say we) to worship an Image, or to pray a Soul out of Purgatory, &c. because they are false and *superstitious* *Opinions* that induce men so to do. If it may be supposed that men who opine right, who do not in their judgment yield more to an Image than they ought, and who do not in truth believe Purgatory; may yet

yet perform the same Ceremonies, and make the same prayers ; I ask then , for what reason are these things done ? If not for this reason, because men are of opinion that the Image deserves it , that the dead may be profited by their Devotions ; then is it a vain and ridiculous piece of Pageantry. Or if some politick reason , and secular Interest tempt men these ways ; what they do may be excused from *Superstition*, because it is not intended for the honour of God, and so is not performed as a part of his Worship, but it is otherwise faulty, because by pretences of Religion they advance their Interest , and *gain* becomes their *Godlineß*. If in truth there be any Religious intendments in these performances, then this is that which plainly renders them *superstitious*, because they Originally proceed from *superstitious Opinions*.

D

This

This I have first said, because upon this depends the Vindication I design of the Usages of the Church of England. For, if what is done in Divine Worship, be not otherwise *superstitious*, but as it proceeds from and is directed by *superstitious Opinions*; then if it can be evinc'd, that we are not guided by any such Opinions, it will follow that our Rites and Ceremonies are void of *superstition*. And this I trust to make appear in what next follows.

Sect. 3.

2. *The Doctrines upon which the Conformity of the Church of England is established, are not superstitious Opinions. Of which matter I give this Account, which I shall take to be sufficient, till by an Enumeration of some other particulars, of which I am not aware, it be made appear, that there are some other Doctrines that may be suspected of superstition, which the Church of England in justification*



cation of her Conformity is obliged to maintain.

1. *All Circumstances relating to the Worship and service of God, are not particularly determined in the word of God.*

2. *Therefore, notwithstanding the Determinations of the Holy Scripture, some things do remain Indifferent in their own Natures.*

3. *The Governours of the Church have power to make Determinations in things Indifferent.*

4. *Therefore people are bound to obey their Governours in such their Determinations.*

5. *It is not unlawful for Church-Governours to appoint some significant Ceremonies. These are the foundations upon which we stand; upon which our Governours require, and upon which we practise Conformity, and none of these are superstitious Opinions. Wherefore in the application of these Generals to our Times and*

state of things, we conclude, the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England not being for their number burdensome (of which in due time) are not in their nature and kind *superstitious*.

1. *He who judges all Circumstances relating to the publick worship of God not particularly determined in the word of God, is not superstitious in that Opinion.* For this is so plainly and manifestly true, that it is a shame for any man to deny it. There hath been (I know) an Axiome among Cartwrights Disciples, *That nothing ought to be established in the Church, which is not commanded in the word of God.* This they thought plainly warranted by the manifest words of the law, about adding to or diminishing from the word of God. Now (adds M<sup>r</sup> Hooker) these men having an eye to a number of Rites and Orders in the Church of England, such as the Ring in Marriage, the Cross, &c. thought

thought by the one only stroke of that Axiome to have cut them off. And T.C. is quoted as arguing thus. You which <sup>Ib. §. 2.</sup> distinguish and say, that Matters of Faith and necessary to salvation, may not be tolerated in the Church, unless they be expressly contained in the word of God, or manifestly gathered; But the Ceremonies, Order, Discipline, Government in the Church, may not be received against the word of God, and consequently may be received, if there be no word against them, although there be none for them: You I say distinguishing in this sort prove an evil divider.

To all which there needs no other Answer than what M<sup>r</sup> Hooker gives. Let that which they do hereby intend, be granted them; let it once stand as consonant to reason, that because we are forbid to add to the Law of God any thing, or to take ought from it, therefore we may not for matters of the Church make any law more than is already set down in Scri- <sup>Ib. §. 6.</sup>

pture ; who sees not what sentence it shall enforce us to give against all Churches in the World, in as much as there is not one, but hath had many things established in it, which though the Scripture did never command, yet for us to condemn were rashness. He goes on to give the Example of the Church of God in the time of our Saviour instead of all others.

If this ratiocination be weak, they who suspect it have great reason to shew us out of Scripture an exact form of Church-Government ; but instead of doing so, they only argue that so it must be, without directing us to the place where it is. To which I again oppose M<sup>r</sup> Hookers words. *As for those marvellous discourses, whereby they adventure to argue, that God must needs have done the things which they imagine were to be done ; I must confess I have often wondered at their boldness herein. When the question is, whether God hath delivered us in Scripture (as*  
*they*

*Ibid. ad finem.*

they affirm he hath) a compleat, particular, immutable form of Church-Polity, why take they that other both presumptuous and superfluous labour, to prove he should have done it: There being no way in this case to prove the deed of God, save only by producing that Evidence wherewith he hath done it? But if there be no such thing apparent upon record, they do as if one should demand a Legacy by force of some written Testament, wherein there being no such thing specified, he pleads that there it must be, and brings Arguments from the love of the Testator, imagining that these proofs will convict a Testament to have that in it, which other men can nowhere by reading find.

It will appear in the process of our arguing, that the very men who would insinuate to the disparagement of our Rites, that Divine Worship must have a Divine Warrant, for Circumstances as well as for substance, have not themselves been

guided by this Opinion, but have taken a liberty in their *Directorian* or *Dictatorian* way, which they have denied to others: And because I shall by and by bring them as witnesses for us and against themselves, I respite yet a little their farther Conviction in this matter.

Sect. 6.

2. *Notwithstanding the Determinations of the Holy Scripture, there do still remain some things in their own nature Indifferent*; and in this Opinion there is no *Superstition*. It might reasonably be thought, that this Proposition is so evident, that no man who pretends to learning will deny it. But so it is, that the power of Church-Governours may be reduc'd in a manner to nothing, some there have been, who will not own any thing *Indifferent* in these matters. I meet with two who have maintain'd this Assertion, and I presume they are the same whom Bishop *Saunderson* means,

means, when he speaks of some of this Opinion. *Duo præsertim, alter alius* Saunderson de Obliga. Conscient. prælec. 6. §. 23. *cujus nominis apud suarum partium homines Theologus, alter è proceribus Regni laicus.* Those Two, I conceive, must be M<sup>r</sup> Bradshaw and the Lord Brooke.

I shall not do M<sup>r</sup> Bradshaw right, if I do not acknowledge, that D<sup>r</sup> Burges Answer Rejoin'd. Ch. 2. §. 9. Burges tells us, *he revers'd his Opinion of things Indifferent.* Surely he had great reason to do it. That he was once of the Opinion which I fasten on him, must not be denied. One of his Treatises Reprinted 1660. is *Of the Nature and use of things Indifferent.* Where he states the Case thus: *A* Chap. 2. *thing Indifferent is a mean between good and evil, so that whatsoever is Indifferent is neither good nor evil, whatsoever is either good or evil is not indifferent.* After this he avers, that no *Action of Religi-* Chap. 8. *on, whether it be Moral or Ceremonial, is Indifferent, but either good or evil; and*  
again,

Ibid.

again, *No Ceremony of Religion is Indifferent.*

A gross and palpable mistake and unworthy of a man so cryed up for his learning, the more pardonable indeed because he acknowledged his Error: but because they who Reprinted him, were not so just to his Memory as to insert that acknowledgment, and because they for whose sake he was reprinted, have not, it may be, that respect for D<sup>r</sup> Burges as to read him, I must animadvert on it as I find it, and answer, That no considering man can think, that when we use an *Indifferent* Rite, we mean that we do neither good nor evil. No sure, that which is *Indifferent* in its Nature, may be in its use Necessary. We use it as being by sufficient Authority commanded thereto, and therefore upon such reasons as justify us that we do well; if we are mistaken in our  
Judg-



Judgment, and have no sufficient reason for what we do, it is ill done.

But this plainly we mean by a thing in its Nature *Indifferent*, somewhat which is not in *specie* commanded of God, and so is not absolutely necessary, nor is it so forbid, therefore not simply Unlawful. This M<sup>r</sup> Bradshaw might have known to have been our Notion of a thing *Indifferent*, for so M<sup>r</sup> Hooker (at whom he sometimes nibbles) had told him. The nature of things *Indifferent* is, neither to be commanded nor forbidden, but left free and *Arbitrary*. He instances quickly after. When many meats are set before me, all are *Indifferent*, none Unlawful, I take one as most convenient. If scripture require me so to do, then is not the thing *Indifferent*, because I must do what scripture requires. They are all *Indifferent*, I might take any; scripture does not require me to make any special choice

*Eccles. Polity, Book 2. §. 4.*

choice of one, I do notwithstanding make choice of one, my discretion teaching me so to do. Now though eating of this dish rather than another, cannot be said, after my choice is made, to be neither good nor evil, (for I chuse discreetly or indiscreetly) yet before my choice determin'd me to one, they were both *Indifferent* (so in their nature they still remain) neither commanded, neither forbidden, neither necessary, neither unlawful in its own Nature.

So in the Circumstances of Religion, after my choice is determined by the Command of my Superiors, these things are not so *Indifferent* as that I do neither well nor ill in my obedience. Before they had determined they found these things *Indifferent* in their Nature, their discretion having guided them to make choice of such a Vesture, &c. as they apprehended convenient, now that becomes

becomes necessary as to use, which at the same time remains *Indifferent* in its Nature.

The Lord Brooke by a little Metaphysicalness goes farther, and from this principle, *Optimum est semper eligendum*, endeavours to prove this Conclusion. That *there is nothing Indifferent in Re & in se, but to our Understandings some things seem so, for want of good light, but in the things themselves every thing, pro hic & nunc, is either Necessary or Unlawful.* It may seem harsh to say that a man is not always obliged to do that which is *best*. Where there is an apparent difference and inequality in the matter of our actions, how far a man may satisfy himself to do that which is good, though he do not always that which is *best*, I digress not to examine. The Assertion may be founded upon another reason and state of things, and upon that I build and say,

Sect. 7.  
*Disc. opening the Nature of Episcop. Ch. 5.*

say, There is a Truth in this Proposition, *A man is not always obliged to do that which is best* ; the reason is, because in some Cases there is no *Best*, but the severals that fall under deliberation are alike, no more Intrinsick Good or Evil in one than another, but any of them if it were alone, were sufficiently eligible and satisfactory. Now if in every action of a mans life he must not proceed, till he can find a difference where none is to be found ; If a man must no where act , till he see clearly what is best to be done , this must needs fill the minds of men with Infinite scruples and perpetual anxieties : And after a man is satisfied that this is good and lawful and fit to be done, yet must he demur and take heed he do it not , lest peradventure somewhat else were better to be done in the room of it. I give Instances whereby it will appear  
we

we are not left to endless doubts in all Cases.

I am at Table and have many Dishes of meat before me which please me well, I care not to eat of all, but make my choice as it may happen, I cannot say it is *Best* to eat of this or that, either that which is commended to me, or that which is next me, or some like accident determines my choice, and if I had eaten somewhat else it would have been equally to my satisfaction. Otherwise, should I sit still and dispute with my self thus? I must do that which is *Best*, therefore I must consider of every Dish by it self, and diligently observe all the differences between them, and if I cannot clearly discern which is best of all, I must sit still till I can: so I might lose my Dinner, and when I rise, should find my mind as unsatisfied as my belly. Or, I am travelling and take  
up

up in a Town where I never was before ; I see divers fair Inns before me, know none ; nor have I any manner of reason to prefer one to another. I go to one as it happens, not out of this principle that I must do that which is *best*, for they are all alike, all *Indifferent* , and if I chuse not till I certainly know which is best for me, I may lie in the streets all Night. Once more, I go to *London* to buy somewhat that I want, without any other Interest or Acquaintance than my money. Many Shops sell the same Commodities, I can give no reason (but this only, that I must buy somewhere) why I call at the sign of the *Sun*, or the *Noon*, the *Lyon*, or the *Bear*. They are all alike , only some accident (without full perswasion that I do that which is best) determines me. And an Hundred such like Cases happen in the Course of Affairs.

Now

Now in all these, what shall we say to *Bradshaw*? Cannot these things be *Indifferent*, unless what I do be neither good nor bad? No sure. Till I have made my choice, it is *Indifferent*, because I am under no Command in these Cases, but am left perfectly to the conduct of my own discretion. And what shall we answer to *Brooke*? Must I not stir till I know which is *Best*? There is no *Best* nor *Worst*. If I discern any inconvenience on one side more than on the other, then is there a difference, and I am unadvised if I do not consider it: but where I discern no difference, and yet scruple till I be satisfied which is *Best*, I shall scruple till Doomesday if I should live so long, because I have nothing to determine me but my own choice. It remains then, that there are things *Indifferent* in their own Nature. Where there is no Antecedent

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dent

dent Command to make such an Action necessary, nor Antecedent prohibition to make it unlawful, it is *Indifferent* in it self, not between good and evil, but between commanded and forbidden, between absolutely necessary and simply unlawful.

I have laid my Foundation thus low in a Consideration of the Nature of things, because the Objectors I deal with goe thus far. It is not necessary to our Cause to affirm, that the Ceremonies of Religion in Controversy (the *Surplice* and *Cross*, &c.) are altogether so *Indifferent*, as that there should be no more reason to determine rather to one, than there is to take one Inn or Shop rather than another. These Instances were produc'd to show where the Rule fails, *Optimum est semper faciendum*, and to prove that there are things *Indifferent* in their own nature.

To



To which I add, that some Rites and Ceremonies of our Religion are so too, as I prove by this Irrefragable Argument. Whatsoever is in *specie*, neither commanded nor forbidden (*i. e.* antecedently to humane laws) is a thing *Indifferent* in its own nature. But the *Surplice* and the *Cross*, and *Kneeling*, &c. are in *specie* neither Commanded nor forbidden. *Ergo* they are *Indifferent*.

They who deny the *Major* fight with their own shadows, and gain-say out of a spirit of opposition; for we persist in this (and they know it) that we mean nothing else by a thing *Indifferent* in its own nature; but somewhat left undetermin'd in the Holy Scripture. They who deny the *Minor*, must prove these things in the use of them forbid in Scripture; which if they shall endeavour to do, I doubt not but to pronounce them *superstitious*, and shall in the

Conclusion prove it. In the mean time, because Negatives are hard to be proved, it concerns them to confute us by producing the Texts which forbid them : which Texts if they be no other than the *second Commandment*, or that in *Coloss. 2.* about *will-worship*, or *Matthew 15. Teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of men*, or some such like these, then I demand farther, In as much as the *Surplice*, &c. are not named in any of these places, by what good Consequence, by what Demonstrative Syllogism shall it be proved from such a Text that it is not lawful to wear a *Surplice*? Here now will be the failure, they quote Texts from whence they declaim, but they do not argue closely and cogently. We know we do not add to the word of God (whether they do not *Ipsi viderint*, and I shall anon endeavour to open their Eyes) We do not teach for

for *Doctrines* the *Commands* of men. We do not urge humane Impositions upon account of Divine Institution (any otherwise than as it is the appointment of God to obey Authority) Wherefore when such a Text is one of the premises, we fear not with Confidence to aver, that this cannot be a good Conclusion. *Ergo*, to wear a *Surplice* is not *Indifferent* in its Nature but a Sin. But of this a little more hereafter.

Now I farther proceed and say, *The Church of England* does not reckon these things so *Indifferent* as to partake nothing of the nature of good or evil (which is *Bradshaws* false Notion) or so *Indifferent* that all other things that may come in competition with them are as equal to them as one Shop or Inn may be to another. For Example. *Kneeling* is not so *Indifferent* that there is no more to be said for it, than for lying  
E 3 along.

along. A *White Garment* not so *Indifferent* as that any other colour would be altogether as grave and decent ; but therefore *Indifferent*, because undetermin'd in Scripture. Nevertheless, when the Governours of the Church have descended to consider, what is expedient to be done in these matters, the determinations which they have made , have not been by chance as a man goes to his Inn, but they have proceeded according to the Rules of Christian Prudence (and it is to be hoped they may be allowed to do so , as well as the *Assembly* who in their *Directory* so profess , as will presently be said) The general Rules of Decency, Order, and Edification have set them their bounds. According to the best of their Wisdom , they have judg'd such and such Impositions expedient , and therefore have so determin'd concerning them.

Which

Which determinations when they are once made, so far as the Lord Brooks Notion is true, it serves our turn very well, *Optimum est faciendum*. We have so much Reverence for our Superiours, as to judge they have determin'd us to that, which they thought most fit and expedient: then for our own practice, we still esteem these things *Indifferent* in their nature, but necessary as to use. Being satisfied that the Holy Scripture does not forbid such usages, we count them lawful. Being also satisfied that our Governours command them, now by virtue of a Law Intervening, they are necessary to us, because we are commanded to obey our Governours in all lawful things.

These things pertaining to the Propositions that next follow, I go on.

3. *It is no superstitious Opinion to be* Sect. 3.

E 4

lieve,

lieve, that the Church may make determinations in things Indifferent. Our fore-mention'd Lord Brooke boggles here, I must therefore consider what he says.

*Ib.* Chap. 6.

First, He concludes thus. The Church hath no power to make any one thing Indifferent in it self. (That, say I, she need not do, for she finds them Indifferent.) Again (he says) we cannot say the Church hath power to determine what is Indifferent. In things that seem Indifferent, where neither of the extremes is necessary, there (especially where both are doubtful) [he conceives] the Church hath not power to determine to either extream. As suppose Black and White Colours should be doubtful, whether both or either, or neither were lawful; In this Case (says he) for ought I yet see, the Church hath no power to determine any one so doubting, either to Black or White; the reason is, because neither is necessary, there being so many Intermediate Colours between

between both. That is as much as to say (if these things be applyed) Ministers may be determin'd neither to a *White Surplice*, nor to a *Black Gown*, because there are other Colours, and rather than the Church shall determine to one, Ministers shall be left to their liberty, to dress themselves in a Fools Coat. But he goes on to cut short the Churches power. When one of the extreames, between which we waver as Indifferent, is necessary to be embrac'd, as in most cases it is, here all the power lawful (as he conceives again) can do no more but resolve which of the two extreames is best.

And is not this hitherto pretty well? A *surplice* cannot be said to be necessary, because a man may wear a Gown, or Cloak, or Coat, or Mantle, or if he be disposed, may nakedly hold forth the Truth. *Kneeling* is not necessary because a man  
may

may stand, or sit, or loll, or ly along. What then? Is it therefore unlawful for the Church to determine to some one of these? No sure; for according to the latter Conception, when one extreame is necessary to be embrac'd, the Church may resolve which is best. And this is the Case here. For though no one of the two be necessary, yet some one of them all must be embrac'd. For the Sacrament cannot be received but in some posture or other, &c. I conceive therefore his Lordships latter Conception, in the very birth of it pulls the former by the heel and supplants it. For if the Church may resolve which of the two extreames is best, where one is necessary; with as much reason may she resolve which of four or five is best, because some one of them must be embrac'd. Or else it will follow, because a Pulpit is not  
necessary



necessary, in as much as a man may preach in a Tub (at least if it be set on a Tressle) because a Folio Bible is not necessary in as much as a man may read in a lesser print; because a Communion Cup of Silver is not necessary, there being other Metals; therefore the Ecclesiastical Court may not compel a man to pay to the Church-Wardens rate, when he hath provided these things. And what a blessed Reformation will this be!

And yet it seems there is danger lest the powers already given should be too large, wherefore he limits again. *This power wherever it is must be very warily exercised, since of all two extreams* (and according to *Idem ibid.* his Principles the Case will be the same, where four, or five, or twenty things are opposed) *only one can be lawful, so that one is wholesome and the other poyson.* But where at last is this power?

power? be it little or much, let us know its bounds. *The Church hath a Judicative declarative power, like the Judges in Westminster-Hall, but not a legislative power, as the King and Parliament.* If a man may be bold to ask again; Who is this Church? You shall find his *Lordship* give a noble answer. *By the Church here I mean (says he) not only one, or two, or a few of what rank soever, but all, even every true Member of the whole Church; for I conceive every such member hath de jure, a Vote in this Determination.*

A right Oecumenical Council indeed, when every member of the body must be conven'd to declare his Opinion, about any Rite or Ceremony that shall happen to be called into question. If I may add a Conception of my own, I should think it worth enquiring, whether Women and Children be not true Members of the whole Church, the liberty

liberty of whose Consciences may be as little imposed upon as that of us men. Well, to gratifie his Lordship we will suppose what is Impossible to be put in practice: Every true Member of the whole Church, awaken'd and alarm'd with the scruples of *John a Nokes*, about the posture in which the Sacrament is to be received; is met together to declare and determine what is best to be done. Now, if ever the Mountains brought forth a Mouse, you shall see how little this Convention signifies; for when every Calves-Head hath spoke an Oracle, every one passed their Vote, let us Imagine that some one among them (and it is hardly possible it should be otherwise) should be dissatisfied and dissent from the Judgment of the greatest part of the Church, and after reading and praying should continue to dissent, *In this case* (he con-<sup>Ibid.</sup>ceives

ceives once more) *no power on earth ought to force that mans practice more than his Judgment.*

Liberty! Oh sweet Liberty! What pity it is the *Lord Brooke* hath not another life to lose in defence of this Gospel liberty. But seriously (so far as amazement will admit) are not things now brought to a strange Conclusion? Will it not be perfectly in vain, to determine any thing at all about Church-Matters? For, even in those things that seem *Indifferent*, one is *Best*, the other *Unlawful*. When the Church hath resolved which is *best*, yet every man must be left to do what he *thinks best*. So is the State of the Church as deplorable as ever was that of the *Common-wealth of Israel*. In those dayes when there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was right in his own Eyes.

Judges 21.

There are many other scurvy passages

passages in that ill-natur'd Book, and many Unworthy Reflections upon my Lords the Bishops that then were: but I must not digress to take notice of them. This process of his is sufficiently expos'd by this account of it.

I confess I have met with two other Pamphlets that also demur in this thing. *A Modest Discourse concerning Ceremonies*, believes that the Churches Authority in commanding mat-<sup>Page 1.</sup>ters of Indifferency, wants ground from Scripture. And M<sup>r</sup> Bagshaw in his *Two great questions concerning things Indifferent in Religious Worship*, holds it utterly unlawful for any Christian Magi-<sup>Page 2.</sup>strate to impose the use of them. But neither of them are so extravagant, as to deny that there is any thing Indifferent, only they think what God hath not determin'd, men may not. Against whom I oppose to this purpose.

Either

Either Church-Governours have power in these Cases to determine, or all people must be left to their liberty, to determine for themselves. But what intolerable disorder and confusion would that bring into the Church? Then would God be the *Author of confusion and not of peace.* There is then no power now left in the Church, that may take care that things be done *decently and in order*: but this is orderly and decent, that every man should have liberty to break Order, and go his own way. And if in forms and modes of worship there could be as many differences (as those that are, are not few) as men, it might be lawful for every man to go by himself, and a single person should constitute a Church. Men would never agree neither about time, nor place of publick Worship, nor about the person that should teach them and pray for them,

them, nor about the manner of publick Prayers, or publick Preaching, nor about the form of administering the Sacraments, nor is it easy to name any one thing in the publick worship of God, wherein all men would be of one mind, but if all were left to their liberty when Church-Governours have determin'd as they think most expedient; every private person shall have a Negative Vote, and if he like not to worship God in the same way as others do, he must pass without controul to worship as he pleases, or if it so please him, not to worship at all.

But these are but the *Capricio's* of some few particular men, the vanity of which I need not labour much to shew, because however the Fox pronounces the Grapes sour which he cannot reach; however some discontented men quarrel at the

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power

power of the Keys, when they do not hang at their own Girdle, yet there never was any body of men, that did at any time usurp a power to make Laws, and determine in Church Affairs, but did proceed upon this Principle, that it is lawful to make determinations in things *Indifferent*; and plain it is that the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* both, allow what I now contend for.

Sect. 9.

The *Presbyterians* in the Preface to their *Directory*, distinguish some things to be of Divine Institution, and others not, and of these they say: *Other things we have endeavoured to set forth according to the Rules of Christian prudence, agreeable to the general rules of the word of God.* Also in their *Confession of Faith* set out with their *Catechisms* they define: *That it belongs to Synods and Councils to set down rules and directions for better ordering the publick worship of God and Government*

*Assemb.  
Conf. of  
Faith. Ch.  
31.*



verment of his Church, which Decrees and determinations if Consonant to the word of God (where it is worthy observing, that when they are establishing their own Authority and way; they expect not express Commands for every thing they do, however they have been observed to huff at Episcopacy and to require Commands for our establishments) are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement with the word, but also for the power whereby they are made; as being an Ordinance of God appointed thereto in his word.

Since these first attempts of the Assembly, we find some writing conformably to their dictates and professing thus. We freely grant that the Civil power, or the Church (orderly assembled) may determine at what hours on the Lords-day the Congregation shall meet, as also it shall determine particular times for Fasting or Thanksgiving, as Gods providence

*Discourse  
Liturg. &c.  
chap. 16.*

dence shall administer Occasions, (and yet some of this way are against keeping *Christmasts, &c.*) that places of publick worship shall be erected, frequented, kept decent, and an Hundred things of that Nature, which even reason and nature it self teaches all sober persons to be such, as that without some Order to be observed in them, the worship of God either would not be performed, or would be undecently performed.

True it is that the same men say in the same Chapter, *The Assertion of the Churches power in appointing Ceremonies and Circumstances of Divine Worship is the very root of all, the Pandora's Box, the very Fountain head of all those Impositions, which have bred so much trouble, disturbance, and persecutions in the Church of God.* Which how to reconcile to what is just now quoted, I well know not, nor to another passage in the same Chapter, where though they desire to distinguish between  
tween

tween *Circumstances* and *Ceremonies* of worship, yet they acknowledge thus. *That the word of God hath left many things (not possib'e to be determin'd by it) to the Authority of the Christian Magistrate cannot be denied, whether any Ceremonies or no is a question, divers Circumstances relating to the worship of God, are undoubtedly so left.*

When I compare these things, I know not how to understand the Coherence of them, unless it be thus. When Church-Governours are *Episcopal*, and shall assume a power to appoint Ceremonies and Circumstances of divine worship, this is the *fountain head of Impositions* that breed disturbance and persecutions: But if they shall chance to be *Presbyterian*, then there are an *Hundred things* not determin'd by the word of God, but left to their Christian Prudence. For Example: A Convocation may not by a Canon or Rubrick appoint, a font

of stone at the West end of the Church, nor kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, nor that the Bread and Wine be severally distributed to every Communicant, but the Directory may make appointments contrary to all these and an hundred things of the like nature. For the Ordinance of Parliament (all the Authority it had) which established the Directory, says. *The Directory for publick worship herein set forth, shall henceforth be used, pursued, and observed, in all exercises of the publick worship of God, in every Congregation, Church, Chappel, and place of publick Worship, within this Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales.*

Chap. I.  
Sect. 6.

The Independents in their Confession of Faith, set out from the Savoy, 1658. speak to the same purpose. There are some Circumstances concerning the worship of God and Government of the Church, common to Humane Actions and Societies,

*Societies, which are to be Ordered by the light of Nature, and Christian prudence, according to the General Rules of the word, which are always to be observed.*

Now I must crave leave that our Adversaries would judge whether they are not unequal to us, in denying us a liberty which they grant to themselves. In this general Consideration of things, it is not material to ask for what reason they scruple our Ceremonies, whether as significant or popish, &c. which shall be examined in due time. All that I now conclude, is no more than what they themselves believe and practise, viz. It is no *superstitious Opinion* to believe that the Church may make Determinations in things *Indifferent*.

4. *Where the Governours of the Church* Sect. 10.  
*have power to determine, it can be no superstitious opinion to believe, they ought to be obeyed, in the exercise of this their law=*

*ful power.* Yea, if it should be granted (what I do not by any means grant, only to come as close as may be to our Adversaries, I suppose the case) that it is not well done to Impose such things *Indifferent*; yet if they be not in their own nature evil, it is better to obey than to disturb the peace of the Church, and to separate from established order. *Zanchy* and *Calvin* are professedly our Advocates in this Matter, on whose Testimony I build the more, because they are of great Authority with those who dissent from us.

*Zanchy* wrote a Letter to *Queen Elizabeth*, wherein he did earnestly perswade her not to Impose the *Surplice* and such like things upon the *Clergy of England*. This he did with great Zeal, and it may seem with some acrimony; as if he had been a great Patron of *Non-Conformity*, and I will not deny that it seems by that Letter

*Zanch. Epistol. lib. 1. p. 111. Tom. ult.*

Letter he did greatly dislike such Impositions ; and but that he was commanded by his Prince to write as he did (he did *Coactus scribere* as he professes) it is a Letter that might argue him to meddle too much in the affairs of another Church : but we take it as we find it., and notwithstanding all that is there said, it is manifest that *Zanchy* was of our side.

That he was abused in the Information that was given him of our affairs, appears by his Letter to the *Queen*, wherein he complains of her introducing and establishing all the Massing attire of the Romish Priests, for so he calls them. *Vestes albas ac lineas, quibus in papatu utuntur sacrifici: Antichristi supellectilem: Papistarum Impiam pompam: Idololatriæ & superstitionis Papisticæ reliquias vel saltem symbola:* that is in the English of some of our Malecontents, All the rags of the  
whore

Falkner  
Libert. Ec-  
clesiast. lib.  
2. Cap. 4.  
§. 9.

*whore of Babylon.* Whereas the attire of their Priests is made up of six Vestments (as a Learned man of our own hath observed out of their Ritualists) *Amictus, Alba, Cingulum, Stola, Manipulus, Capsula*, all far different from the *Surplice*; and these six Garments are accounted holy Garments used by their Priests, and all of them have their particular Consecrations, as the *Surplice* in the Church of Rome hath not. *Zanchy* then thus mistaking the case was more eager than he needed to have been, but he was under another and greater mistake.

It was reported to him that there was great danger, lest many pious men should be turn'd out of their Livings upon this Occasion; yea, it was told him, that there were *pleriq; Episcopi* (that must be some considerable number of the Twenty six that are in *England and Wales*) *Viri omni eruditione & pietate insignes, qui malint*



*malint. Officio & loco cedere quam istiusmodi vestes. admittere.* There were many Bishops that would not conform. Now who that knows any thing of the State of the *Church of England*, Anno 1571. (when that Letter was written) knows not that the Bishops of that time were sufficiently satisfied with the Conformity that was then urged, nor was there one among them (for so far as I can now find) that made so much noise about these things as Bishop *Hooper* of *Glocester* did under *Edward* the Sixth: If therefore *Zanchy* may be excused for endeavouring what he could in favour of those good and Learned men whose exauctoration he fear'd; yet that not being the case, the earnestness of his Letter (if we should yield more to his judgment than of necessity we are obliged to do) will not signify much to the reproach of our Conformity. But

But we have greater assurance that *Zanchy* was our Friend: For when he had dated his Letter to the *Queen* from *Heidelberg*, Sept. 10. 1571.

*Zanch. E-*  
*pist. lib. 2.*  
*p. 181.*  
*Tom. ult.*

he dates another the very next day to Bishop *Juell* (though it be doubtful whether he lived to receive it, because he died the 23<sup>d</sup> of the same Month) from the tenor of which I conclude, that in his Letter to the *Queen* he says nothing to prove the usages of our Church unlawful to be practis'd, (whatever his opinion might be of the conveniency of Imposing them) or if he did, he unsays it again the very next day in his Letter to the *Bishop*, which of so Learned and fix'd a man, is not easily to be believed. For the very occasion of that second Letter, was to desire Bishop *Juell* and other Bishops, to use their Authority with the rest to perswade. *Ne si Regina amoveri nullo modo possit à sententiâ, ipsi propterea*

*propterea suas deferere malint stationes, quam edicto Regio obtemperare.* If the Queen were resolv'd and would be obey'd, he would have all the Clergy rather obey than leave their places and Employments. He goes on to declare his Opinion, that for such things as these, Ministers may not leave their Flocks: He acknowledges the Case, that where things are in their own nature evil, we must with the Apostles obey God rather than Man, and then adds, *Si vero res suâ naturâ adia-*  
*phoræ, lege mandatoq; regio præcipiantur,*  
*quando alterutrum necesse sit, ut aut ce-*  
*datur loco, aut tali mandato obtemperetur,*  
*obtemperandum potius esse, &c.* When the Magistrates command Indifferent things upon this necessity, that men must obey or forsake their Ministry, they must rather obey. Nay he reckons this Case so clear, that he concludes :  
*Esse vero hanc sententiam ita certam &*  
*perspicuam, tum in sacris literis tum apud*  
*patres*

*patres & in Historiis Ecclesiasticis, ut supervacaneum omnino sit, ullam adferre probationem apud illos, qui vel mediocriter in scripturis sunt exercitati. Numquam enim propter res suâ naturâ adiaphoras, deferenda est Vocatio legitima & necessaria. They who ever consulted the Scriptures, or Fathers, or Ecclesiastical Historians, will need no proof of this, That it can never be lawful for men to leave a necessary Employment (such as that of the Ministry is) for the sake of Indifferent Rites.*

Vid. Burges Answer  
Rejoin'd.  
Chap. I.  
Sect. 19.

If this will not convert a Non-Conformist, yet I hope it will make them ashamed to quote *Zanchy's* Letter to the *Queen*, as if it were much to our disadvantage (as the *Replyer* upon *Bishop Mortons* defence does) let both his Letters be compar'd, and much good may they do them.

That this was *Zanchy's* settled Judgment, appears from what he elsewhere

elsewhere says, in defence of Garments peculiar to Divine Service :

*Quod veteres Episcopi cœnam administra-* Zanc.  
Tom. 4.  
de Cultu  
Dei exter-  
no lib. 1.  
Cap. 16.  
*turi, aliam induerint vestem, ad mutati-*  
*onem cœnæ nihil pertinet. Non enim Chri-*  
*stus jussit, ut communibus vestibus induti*  
*cœnam administraremus, sicut & ipse in-*  
*dutus erat, sed tantum ut faceremus quod*  
*& ipse fecit. Idem de multis aliis rebus*  
*dici potest, tam in Baptismo quam in cœ-*  
*nâ Dominicâ. Whereas the Bishops of*  
*old did celebrate the Eucharist in a pecu-*  
*liar Garment, this makes no change in*  
*that service, for our Lord Christ did not*  
*command us to be clothed as he was, but*  
*to do what he did. And the same may*  
*be said of many other things, both*  
*in Baptism and the Lords Supper.*

The sum of all he thus expresses,  
*Quæ addita sunt, sed tanquam adiaphora,*  
*propter ordinem, propter decorum, & ad*  
*ædificationem, ea substantiam Sacramen-*  
*torum eoq; cultum non mutarunt. Those*  
*things that are added for Order, Decency,*  
*and*

*A Discourse of Superstition,  
and Edification, make no alteration in the  
substance of the Sacraments, or of Divine  
Worship.*

I conclude then, though we yield  
*Zanchy* theirs, as to his Opinion, that  
it is not well done to impose these  
*Indifferent* things, yet he is clearly  
ours as to the Proposition I main-  
tain. When *Indifferent* things are  
once determin'd (whatever Gover-  
nours may have to answer for such  
Impositions) because they are not in  
their own nature evil, it is better to  
obey than to disturb the peace of the  
Church.

Sect. II. But *M<sup>r</sup> Calvin* is a greater man  
than *D<sup>r</sup> Zanchy*, and the cause which  
he condemns shall ly under a great  
prejudice: his opinion therefore  
must be consider'd. However he be  
generally esteemed no great friend  
to Episcopacy, yet *M. Durell* hath  
endeavour'd to vindicate him from  
being very Antiepispcal. Be that as

*M. Durell*  
*View of*  
*Govern-*  
*ment and*  
*publick*  
*worship in*  
*the Reform.*  
*Churches*  
*beyond the*  
*Seas, pag:*  
*161. &c.*

it will; if our N. C<sup>s</sup> will stand or fall to Calvins Judgment, our advantage is as great as we need desire:

1. For first he does greatly admire set forms of Prayer. So he says in a Letter to the Protector of Edward the Sixth. *Quod ad formulam precum & Rituum Ecclesiasticorum, valde probo, ut certa illa extet à quâ Pastoribus discedere in suâ functione non liceat.* I do greatly like that forms of Prayer, and the Rites of the Church should be stated, so as Ministers in the exercise of their function should not have leave to vary from them: His reasons are Three, *Ut consuletur quorundam simplicitati & Imperitiæ: Ut certius constet omnium Ecclesiarum inter se consensus.* Postremo ut obviam eatur desultoriæ quorundam levitati qui novationes quasdam affectant. First, For the supply of some mens inabilities (a reason that our modern N. C<sup>s</sup>. in this time of Gospel light, think an undervaluing of them) Secondly, That the

Calv. E:  
pist. 87.  
Dat. 1548.

G several

several Churches (of the same Dominion) may appear to consent together. Thirdly, For a security against Innovators (and in that also I wish they were not concern'd.) Upon this last reason Calvin adds, that there should be *summa quædam doctrinæ ab omnibus recepta, quam inter prædicandum sequantur omnes, ad quam etiam observandam omnes Episcopi & Parochi jurejurando adstringantur, ut nemo ad munus Ecclesiasticum admittatur, nisi spondeat sibi illum sensum inviolatum futurum. Extet præterea communis Catechismi formula, &c.* Which I thus accommodate to our Usage, he could not think it unlawful to subscribe to the thirty nine Articles.

2. Because some Ceremonies must accompany Divine Service, it appears by the former words that he would have them stated too. I conceal not his Opinion, that he would have but few Ceremonies for fear of  
*Superstition.*



*Superstition. Nihil consultius Video quam parcissimis Ceremoniis uti in Ecclesiâ, satis enim Experientiâ constat, quàm proclivis sit lapsus in superstitionem.*

Epist. 303.  
Dat. 1560.

Now if any shall hence infer, that Calvin, if he were alive, would judge us to abound in superfluous Ceremonies, I oppose his former Letter to the Protector, where he speaks, *de abolendis & radicitus evellendis abusibus & corruptelis*, of rooting out abuses: but he instances but in three things, *Praying for the dead, Chrism and extream Unction*. All which having now no place in our Church, and it being undeniable that we are reformed to some greater degrees than in Edward the Sixths time, we have fair reason to say that the present state of things is such as Calvin would not disallow; at most if he would have advised to have omitted some of our Ceremonies, yet in the same

place where he desires Ceremonies should be few, he adds, *Aliud vero est, cum nobis jus non est admittendi aut repudiandi quod videbitur. Si non licet obtinere quod cupimus, feramus istos defectus, non approbemus.* Where we are to obey and not to rule, let us bear with those defects which we need not approve.

3. But Calvin is the man, who called some of our Rites *Fooleries*. Because our N. C<sup>s</sup>. shall have liberty to make the most of that word, I so translate it, though others think it may be rendred *Unfitnesses*. Let them take the advantage of it, provided they will acknowledge that at the same time he calls them *tolerable*. The words are in a Letter to some English Divines at *Frankford*, in *Queen Maries* time. In *Anglicanâ Liturgiâ* qualem describitis, multas video fuisse tolerabiles *Ineptias*. Calvin being at a distance, takes things as they were represented to him, therefore he

Ep. 200.  
Dat. 1555.

he speaks of the *English Liturgy* according to the description they gave of it, and there is some reason to suspect, that they who gave him that account, misrepresented the case. I am not alone in the Imagination. M. Durell is before me who undertakes it at large. But Calvin View of Government, &c. p. 117. says moreover *video fuisse*: so it had been (he thought) in *Edward* the Sixths time, and who knows not what perfective alterations have been since made? Suppose at most he did not like some things, yet this is certain, that he did not think it worth while to contend about them, for so he says in the same Letter. *In* Id. ibid. *rebus mediis ut sunt externi Ritus, facilem me & flexibilem praebeo.* In such Indifferent matters as outward Rites are, I am an easy man and ready to be perswaded. And I give but Two Instances more that I may have done with him.

When he writes to Bullinger a-

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bout

Ep. 120.  
Dat. 1551.

bout Bishop Hooper's Scruples and troubles, he says, *De pileo & veste lineâ maluisssem (ut illa etiam non probem) non usq; adeo ipsum pugnare, idq; etiam nuper suadebam.* Though I do not much like the Square-Cap, and Surplice, yet I wish Hooper had not been so fierce against them, and so I lately perswaded him. Yea, in an affair of their own, Beza reports him to have been of the same temper. Some there were at Geneva who had upon some pretences introduc'd the use of Unleaven'd Bread (and of that only) at the Communion: At this others were so offended, that they inclin'd, rather to stay away than Communicate. Calvin who was then withdrawn from Geneva, hearing of it, advised them, *ne ob istud ἀδικονεον litem moverent, sic obtinuit panis Azymi usus, de quo etiam postea restitutus Calvinus nunquam contendendum putavit, minimè tamen dissimulans quid alioqui esset magis probaturus.* He would

Bez. Vit.  
Calvini.  
An. 1538.

would not have them quarrel about such an Indifferent matter. So the use of Unleaven'd Bread was established, which when Calvin return'd again, he did not think fit to make any disturbance about, though he did not dissemble that he rather wished, it had been otherwise. It appears then Calvin was not so inflexible in all matters of Conformity as many of our Modern N. C<sup>s</sup>. are.

To Calvin and Zanchy it is easy to add like Testimonies out of other Authors magnified by the N. C<sup>s</sup>. M. Durell hath brought about forty, mostly Divines, as it were into Council, delivering their Opinions about Ceremonies and Circumstances of worship. All unanimously agreeing against our present Dissenters, that these things, viz. the Surplice and Cross, &c. are not such, for which a separation is to be made: and if all do not speak to every particular matter in Controversy be-

Sect. 12.  
M. Durell  
View of  
Govern-  
ment, &c.  
P. 119. &  
deinceps.

tween us, yet all speak to some, and some to all, by all which it appears, that the Church of England is not condemned by the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, nay she is justified, nay she is admired.

For the particular purpose of the Argument now in hand, I offer a few of our own Countrymen, and I cannot begin better than with T. Cartwright, who is quoted as professing to oppose our Ceremonies as inconvenient but not as unlawful, and therefore perswaded Ministers, rather to wear the Garments than cease their Ministry, and taught men to receive the Sacrament kneeling, if they could not have it otherwise, because though the gesture be (as he takes it) incommodious, yet he says it is not simply unlawful. M<sup>r</sup> Sprint, also assures us, that D<sup>r</sup> Humfrey, D<sup>r</sup> Rainolds, D<sup>r</sup> Sparks, D<sup>r</sup> Chaloner, D<sup>r</sup> Ayrey, M<sup>r</sup> Chaderton, M<sup>r</sup> Knewstubs, though they stood out and testified their dislike

Burges  
Preface to  
Answ. Re-  
join'd, p.  
314.

Cassand.  
Anglic. p.  
163.

dislike against sundry of the Ceremonies established, yet they did in case of deprivation yield to them, and studiously perswaded others in this case to this practice.

Of latter days M<sup>r</sup> Baxter hath determin'd, that it may be very sinful to command some Ceremonies, when yet it may be the subjects duty to use them when they are commanded. Upon which Proposition he says farther: If a thing be simply unlawful, as being forbid by God himself, there no command of man can make it lawful: But if it be but inconvenient, or evil only by accident, or circumstance, it is possible for the command of Governours to take off that accidental evil, and make it become a duty.

Baxt. Disputat. of Church Government, p. 460.

I have dwelt at large upon these Testimonies, not because the Reason of the thing is doubtful, so as to need such a Confirmation, nor because if it were, other Testimonies as considerable could not be produced,

duced, but to comply with the humor of the N. C<sup>s</sup>. and to deal with them at their own Weapon. They have made a great noise about the consent of the Reformed Churches, and did Covenant to endeavour a Reformation according to the Example of the best Reformed Churches; as if all that go under the name of the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, did as much believe us Superstitious as these men pretend to believe. Whereas beside the Veneration which Spanhemius expresses to have for the Order of the Church of England, in a time when Conformity went higher than of late days: besides Bogerman's acknowledgment at Dort to the Bishop of Landaffe that then was, *Domine, nos non sumus adeo felices*, It was their misfortune not to be under Episcopal Government; we have many more clear evidences of the great respect which Foreigners bear to the Church of England,

Epist. ad  
tertiam  
partem.  
Dub. E-  
vangel. An.  
1638.

Bishop Hall  
Episcopacy  
by Divine  
Right, Sec.  
4.



I conclude this Proposition with the grave and excellent determination of St. *Austin*, in which he gives account of St. *Ambrose* too. *Monica* coming to *Milan*, and observing the Order of the Church there, that they did not fast on *Saturday* as was usual in other Churches, was troubled about it; for her satisfaction St. *Austin* advises with St. *Ambrose*, who answers him, and resolves her, by his own practice. *Cum Romam*  
*venio, jejuno Sabbato, cum hic sum non*  
*jejuno; sic etiam tu ad quam forte Eccle-*  
*siam veneris, ejus morem serva, si cui-*  
*quam non vis esse scandalo, nec quenquam*  
*tibi. When I am at Rome, I fast on*  
*Saturday as they do there, here I do not;*  
*so I would have you, wheresoever you come,*  
*observe the Order of the place, if you would*  
*neither give nor take offence. An An-*  
*swer which satisfied Monica, and pas-*  
*sed for an Oracle with St. Austin, who*  
*adds of his own in the same Epistle:*

*Augustin.*  
*Januario.*

Some

Id. *Ibid.*

Some things Universal tradition had so confirmed, that he did not think fit they should be alter'd, as the Observation of *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, &c. but then, *Alia quæ per loca terrarum Variantur*, sicut est quod alii jejunant *Sabbato*, alii non, alii quotidie communicant, alii certis diebus, &c. & si quid aliud hujusmodi animadverti potest, Totum hoc genus rerum liberas habet observationes, nec disciplina ulla alia est in his melior, gravi prudentiq; Christiano, quam ut eo modo agat, quo agere viderit Ecclesiam ad quamcunq; forte devenerit; quod enim neq; contra fidem neq; contra bonos mores injungitur, Indifferenter est habendum, & pro eorum inter quos vivitur societate servandum est. As to those Observances which are divers in divers Countries, that some fast on Saturday, others not; some communicate every day, others at stated times: All such things as these are free, and a grave and prudent Christian can follow no better

better rule, than to behave himself according to the Order of the Church, to which he shall chance to come: For whatsoever is enjoined that is not against Faith, nor good manners, is to be esteemed Indifferent, and to be practised according to the Company with which we converse. St. Austin does rightly state the Notion of a thing Indifferent (suppose the Surplice) somewhat in its own nature not necessary, therefore in a Church that does not enjoin it, it may be omitted, somewhat in its own nature not Unlawful, therefore in a Church that does enjoin it, it ought to be used.

5. It is no Superstitious Opinion to believe that the Church may appoint significant Ceremonies. This is another matter wherein the N. C<sup>s</sup>. speak big. It is not true that they have any Authority to appoint significative Ceremonies, where are sensible signs to affect the Understanding, this is to give them Authority to institute

Sect. 13.  
Discourse of  
Liturgies,  
Chap. 16.  
§. 9.

*Abridg.*  
*Lincoln.*  
*See Burges*  
*Answer Re-*  
*join'd.*  
*Chap. 3.*  
*Sec. 1.*

*stitute Sacraments. Another formerly.*

*All humane Ceremonies being appropriate to Gods service, if they be ordain'd to teach any spiritual duty by their Mystical signification, are unlawful: But such are these Three, the Surplice, the Cross in Baptism, and Kneeling in receiving the Communion. Ergo, they are Unlawful.*

There is a clear difference between signs of Grace inwardly infus'd, and signs of duty enjoin'd. It is the nature of a Sacrament to be an outward sign of inward Grace. Wherefore because Christ is the Author of Grace, as it belongs to him whose the deed of Gift is to set to his Seal, so is it the Prerogative of our Lord Christ to institute Sacraments for his Church. But signs of duty are other things, and this distinction is thus expressed by the Learned Morton.

*See Burges*  
*ut supra.*  
*Chap. 3.*  
*Sec. 4.*

*There be two acceptions of the word Mystical, one Sacramental by signification of Grace confer'd by God, the other only moral,*

ral, signifying some duty of men to God. The Mystical Ceremonies condemned by Learned Writers, are Sacramental; all the Ceremonies which we defend, are Mystical, Moral, not Sacramental.

They who have written of these things, have given us divers Instances, both out of the Old Testament and New, where insignificant Ceremonies have been allowably practised, although they have not been strictly Sacramental, nor of Divine Institution. That which I offer to consideration, is somewhat not fully retorted upon our Adversaries, that I have any where observed, therefore I take liberty to enlarge upon it, when I have first mov'd one question. Put the Case a Canon or Constitution of our Church, should enjoin the Sexton to make his Graves East and West, and to take care that they who are buried be laid with their Feet to the East. I ask, would it be  
lawful,

lawful, or unlawful, to obey this Constitution? Unlawful? How can that be so, when it is commanded, which is now generally practised, and that without scruple? If lawful, then is a significant Ceremony allowed lawful, for though all men may not think of it, or may not so design, yet there can be no doubt but the Original of that Custom, had a Respect to the Resurrection of the Body, and to an expectation of Christs coming to Judgment, the belief of which was declar'd by this significant Ceremony.

But that which I urge is this. They against whom we argue, contend for *sitting* at the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and that for this reason, because it is a *significant posture*. That it is any where in the *New-Testament* commanded to receive the Sacrament *sitting*, no man in his Wits will say: Yet the *Presbyterians* have

have often argued for it, upon the account of its significancy. So I have heard it out of the Pulpit. *That gesture which ought to be kept above all the rest, is Sitting, because though it be but a Circumstance, yet it hath some significancy in it, because it is a supper gesture. And secondly and chiefly, because it signifies the familiarity that is between Christ and Believers, Luke 22. 30. This Supper is a Type of the Everlasting Supper in Heaven, where one shall not sit and another stand. I name not my Author because he is long since dead, but I am certain I do him no wrong. And to make it appear that this is their Doctrine, I add a Printed Testimony.*

Among the Treatises that bear Mr Bradshaws name, one is a Proposition concerning *Kneeling at the Sacrament*, wherein are these words. *Whereas the end of a Sacrament, is to inform the outward man, by sensible demonstra-*

*Bradsh. several Treatises. p. 104.*

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tions,

tions, it pleased our Master to use such a gesture, as agreeably with Bread and Wine, setteth out our Communion and spiritual familiarity with him, and rejoicing in him, and therefore as he says, If any man hear my voice, &c. I will come in to him and sup with him, and he with me: So he says, Many shall come from the East and West, and shall sit with Abraham, &c. By which place it appears, that as by Supper, so by sitting, familiar rejoicing, or rejoicing familiarity is expressed. Therefore not kneeling but sitting is for receiving.

Dirac. Ce-  
lebra.  
Commun.

It is plain then, that sitting is reckon'd a significant posture. It is also plain, that it is required in the Directory. The Table being decently covered, and so conveniently plac'd, that the Communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it, &c.

I know the pretence is, that they do not Institute a significant Ceremony, they only retain it, as having warrant



warrant from the Example of our Saviour. So says the foremention'd Proposition. *Kneeling is contrary to the Example of Christ and his Apostles, who ministred and receiv'd sitting; or in such a gesture as in those Countreys was most used at eating, from which Example to differ without warrant from Gods word, cannot be without fault, seeing the Examples of holy men, much more that of Christ, are to be followed except there be some reasonable cause to the contrary.* Ibid.

In Answer to which I oppose three things.

First, If the Example of Christ were as they say, yet it does no more conclude for our sitting, than for our receiving at Supper time, &c.

Secondly, They have not the Example of Christ, for that manner of sitting which they now urge.

Thirdly, It is not absolutely certain, whether they have his Example for any manner of sitting at all.

Sect. 14.

1. Suppose the most, that the Apostles at the first Institution of the Sacrament, did receive it *sitting*, where is the Argument, because they did, therefore so must we? Let this be proved. Where is the particular Command that makes it our duty to follow this Example? *Cedo locum* and we yield. That must not be said. What then? Will they argue from the Equity of the Example? Let us go on then and say, Because of the same Example we must receive at night, in an upper room, and only Males: For either the whole Example binds in all Circumstances, or in none; or some difference must be assign'd between this Circumstance and the other of Time and place, &c. And what I pray shall that be? Is it because (which is a sufficient reason) they were but Occasional? there was no design in Instituting and administering the Sacrament

crament in such a place, but because it was judg'd by our Blessed Saviour a convenient place; Or at night, but because the Pass-over was first to be eaten, and that night our Blessed Saviour was to be betrayed, therefore that time of night was most proper, because it could not be sooner or later. Now let it be consider'd, was it not also Occasional, that they receiv'd it *sitting*? so as their Master found them at the Pass-over (as is now suppos'd) so being in haste, he administers this Sacrament. Why therefore should this come into Example rather than the other Circumstances, unless (which can never be proved) there be some indications in the Gospel, that it was the pleasure of our Lord that this part of his Example should oblige and not the rest.

Oh! but this gesture signifies (as was before said) and does it for? Who

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can

can tell that? Who may be bold to say, that the posture which was used upon occasion, was intended for signification, when no such thing is said, only the wits of men have devised this reason, and imagin'd a significancy in it? But be it so. May not then also some signification be fasten'd upon the time and place? It is best to receive in an upper room: this signifies the exalted state to which Believers are receiv'd, and by which they are dignified, whereby also they are rais'd up to a nearness to Heaven in that holy Ordinance. Again, it is best to receive at night: this signifies, after a poor Sinner hath been wearied in his days of sin, as men at night turn to their rest after the labours of the day; so how after the labours of sin, *Return to thy rest, O my Soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee, Plal. 116. and 'Come unto me all ye that labour, &c.*

and

and I will give you rest, Math. 11. I dare say as good Texts to prove receiving at night, as *sitting with Abraham* in the Kingdom of God proves the posture. Thus is it easy to devise and imagine; and if this shall be thought a worshipping God after our own devices (as the men who seem so much to abhor *Superstition* will be ready to say) I see not but they who contend so much for sitting, will be guilty, unless they can make it appear that the Holy Scripture hath rather recommended one than another. Now if I should repeat those Tragical Declamations against *adding to the word of God, Will-worship, and mens devices in the worship of God*, of which their writings are full; how would they all sit here? For what is, if this be not worshipping God after mens Imaginations, when they will make differences where our Blessed Saviour hath

made none? And yet this is the best that can be said of this Case: for this supposes that Christs Example recommends sitting.

Marth. 26.  
Luke 22.

2. Whereas this is farther to be said, They have not so much as Example for that manner of sitting which they now urge: *Ἀνάκλιτο* and *ἀνέκειτο*, the two words used by the *Evangelists* upon this occasion, do not signify such a sitting as is now in use: It is therefore generally agreed, that their posture was more like to lying than sitting. So that the best of their Argument can be but thus: Because our Blessed Saviour gave the Sacrament to his Disciples in that gesture which they used at Meals, which was a kind of lying, therefore we ought to receive it in the gesture now used at Meals which is sitting: where we must desire their Logick to tell us, what degree of necessity is in this sequele, because they did  
one

one thing, we must do another. Yet neither is this the worst of it, all this is but a supposition of that which they are never able to prove. For

3. It is not absolutely certain, in what posture they did then receive the Lords Supper. Probably they continued in the same posture, but who can peremptorily conclude it? Who can demonstrate to the contrary, but that when our Blessed Saviour, while they were eating, solemnly betook himself to the Institution of a new Sacrament, they to address themselves to a new service, might betake themselves to a new gesture? I cannot prove they did, nor (for ought I can find) can any body prove they did not. There is nothing conclusive in any of the Evangelists, that they did certainly continue in the same posture; Unless the Order of St. *Luke* be insisted on,

on, who (*Chap. 22.*) after the Institution of the Sacrament hath these words, *But behold the hand of him that betrays me is with me at the Table.* Which Order signifies little to those who will not yield Judas to have been at the Sacrament (as divers of our Adversaries will not) but admit he was there, as seems very probable, yet though they were all at the same table as before (and who can demonstrate but it might be another table) yet it does not appear certain, that they were in the same posture as before. This doubt I move, not as a thing in it self considerable, but to represent how strongly some men (and even the same who call so much for Scripture grounds, and for a divine warrant for Circumstances of worship as minute as this) will build upon probabilities, when it serves their turn. Because it is not said they rose up, it is by consequence gather'd they



they sat still. If they did, it was not our manner of sitting, but another. If they had sate as we, yet this Example is no more obligatory, than it is to other Circumstances of the same Institution. Yet through all these If's, and Consequences, and Suppositions, they conclude to the expedience, if not to the necessity of a significant Ceremony, though in us they call it *Superstition*.

The lifting up the hand at the Covenant, the laying the hand upon the Book in swearing and other like Ceremonies, have been objected to them by others, I urge not that, but add another Instance whereby it will plainly appear, that many of the N. C<sup>s</sup>. though they suspect so much *superstition* in a significant Ceremony, yet can themselves allow and urge the use of a Ceremony, and that in a Religious matter, and because it is significant, although the particular Ceremony

Ceremony be no where in Scripture commanded.

Sect. 15. They who have endeavour'd to settle *Presbyterated* and *Associated Churches*, have determin'd to do it by way of *Covenant*, so consenting to be a Member of such a Church. The Agreement of the *Associated Churches* in *Worcestershire*, will give us light in this thing; who thus express themselves. Because *Ministers* should have a particular knowledge of their Charge, which now is uncertain, and for divers other reasons propounded and debated among us; We judge it very fit, if not of necessity, to desire a more express signification of our peoples consent, to our *Ministry* and *Ministerial* actions, and in particular to submit to this discipline, as the members of that particular Church. Afterwards they tell us in what form of words they require this consent to be given.

Agreement  
of the *Asso-*  
*ciated*  
*Churches* in  
*Worce-*  
*stersh.*  
§. 18.

I do consent to be a Member of the  
particular Church of Christ at —  
whereof — Teacher, &c.

The reasons why this was required, Mr Baxter gives in his Explication of that Agreement, not as his <sup>Ibid.</sup> own, but as those that mov'd the Association to make that determination. The reasons are Twelve. In all which there is not so much as a pretence of a divine Institution; nay it is confessed in the Preface, that the sign it self of this consent is not particularly determin'd; and Mr Baxter after the reasons adds this Memorandum: Remember yet that I maintain, that God does in Scripture require, only consent signified (a thing which I do not now debate) but hath not tyed us to this or that particular sign, for signifying it, but having given us general Rules, that all things be done to Edification, decently, &c. he hath left it to humane prudence to determine of  
the

the particular sign, whether voice, subscription, &c. So then, such a form of words is own'd to be a sign signifying consent. It is also own'd a sign requir'd only upon General Rules of Scripture. What unpardonable crime is it then, if the Church of England agree upon some Ceremonies significant, by virtue of the same general Rules, of Edification and Decency? In which Cases if private men will be so wise as to abound in their own sense, whether or no such things be decent and edifying, the same Mr Baxter hath determin'd the Controversy in the same place: where though he assert, that the Pastors are to consult with the people about the convenience, yet he positively concludes: *That people are to obey the determination of their guides.* And how now comes it to pass that the power which they in their times assum'd, should be denied the Church of England,

land,

land, viz. Power and Authority to appoint significant Ceremonies?

If they will distinguish between Discipline and Worship, and allow a significant Ceremony in that, but not in this, I reply, that in their contentions for Discipline about Mr Hookers time, that Axiome of theirs [Nothing ought to be established in the Church, which is not commanded by the word of God] was applied to Discipline as well as worship, and therefore Degrees in the Universities, sundry Church-Offices and Dignities were struck at. Yea, they did affirm, that the Discipline was no small part of the Gospel, that without this Discipline there can be no right Religion, that they who reject the Discipline refuse to have Christ reign over them. However it is clear, A significant Ceremony because allowed in Discipline, is not in the Nature of the thing unlawful. Nor does it deserve the name of a Sacrament properly

*Eccles. Pol.*  
*Lib. 3.*  
*Sect. 5.*

*Survey of*  
*the present*  
*Holy*  
*Discipline.*  
*p. 440.*

so called. Nor does the Church of England deserve to be upbraided with *superstition* because of such appointments.

If these grounds be firm and good, I conclude that the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the Church of England, unless they be either burdensome in their Number, or requir'd as somewhat in nature and kind, greater and more necessary than things *Indifferent*, are not faulty or *superstitious*.

Both which Cases deserve Consideration.

Se<sup>t</sup>. 16.

1. If our *Rites* be in their nature Innocent, no man hath reason to find fault with their Number. The Compilers of our *Liturgy* have been aware, that an Objection might be here made, and have taken care to prevent the scruple. Some *Ceremonies* are put away, because the great excess and multitude of them hath so increas'd in these latter days, that the burden of them

*Preface to  
the Liturgy,  
of Ceremo-  
nies.*

was

was intolerable, whereof St. Austin in his time complain'd, &c. This our excessive multitude was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken, than declare and set forth Christs benefits to us. That Complaint of St. Austin, is in his Epistle to Januarius, where he acknowledges.

Aug. Janu-  
ario Ep:  
119:

*Quamvis enim neq; hoc inveniri possit, quomodo contra fidem sint; ipsam tamen Religionem, quam, paucissimis & manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis, misericordia Dei esse liberam voluit; servilibus oneribus premunt, ut tolerabilior sit conditio Judaeorum. Admit that such observances be not against the Gospel; yet in as much as the Merciful God would have Religion free from the burden of many Ceremonies; they have so clog'd it with burdensome services, that the condition of the Jews was more tolerable than of Christians now adays. That there may be no such Cause of Complaint among us, the Church of England hath been very*

*Disc. of Li-  
turgies, p.  
91.*

moderate in this thing. Not so as to escape the ill will of her Adversaries, when they were resolv'd to find fault; for the Preface to the *Directory* complains of the *many unprofitable and burdensome Ceremonies*, contain'd in the *Liturgy*, which occasion'd much mischief: yet in cool blood some of the party are constrain'd to acknowledge the number of Ceremonies retain'd in our Church, pretending to any legal Authority, but small. The Surplice, and Cross, and Kneeling at Sacrament are we think all. And they do us much wrong if they refuse this acknowledgment. For a great number of observations which obtain in the Church of Rome in the Celebration of the Sacraments (which from their number of seven we have reduc'd to Two) and in other parts of Divine Worship, have no place in the Church of England, lest they should divert the minds of men from worshipping God in spirit and truth.

Cere-



Ceremonies harmless in themselves may yet be hurtful in respect of their number, therefore hath our Church abrogated a great number of Saints-days and other like Customs, as Mr Hooker hath observed.

*Eccles. Pol.*  
*lib. 4. Sec.*  
*14.*

Wherefore such is the present state of our Church, that we may securely defy our Adversaries in this matter, if it were as easy to cure their Jealousies of what may be, as to answer their objections against what is established. But here they make difficulty. Though our present Number of Ceremonies be but small, yet they raise a doubt, how far a Church may go ; how many Ceremonies may be establish'd, before the number be burdensome. Where is the *Maximum quod non*, and the *Minimum quod sic* of superstition. This is thought a great Argument why no Ceremonies, (beyond what are of direct necessity) should be imposed ; because of the *Impossibility to fix a point, where the Im-*

Bagshaw's  
Two great  
Querits, p.  
10.

poser will stop. For do but once grant that the Magistrate hath power to impose, and then we ly at his mercy how far he will go. And they who allow our present number to be but small, yet think

*Discourse of  
Liturgies,  
p. 91.*

them too many, because, though there be no more Ceremonies established by law as yet, there are many probationers, and they can see no reason, but the Churches power if allowed to appoint any (save only such, without which the service of God, would apparently to all rational men, be perform'd indecently and disorderly) may appoint Hundreds. It is also one of M<sup>r</sup> Baxters reasons, against the Imposing Crossing, and the Surplice,

*Baxter Dis-  
put. of Ch.  
Govern-  
ment, p.  
477.*

&c. When we once begin to let in Humane Mystical Rites, we shall never know where to stop, or make an end. On the same ground, that one age invents three or four, the next think they may add as many: and so it will grow to be a point of devotion, to add a new Ceremony (as at Rome it hath done) till we have more than we well know what to do with.

I answer. The Writings of Moralists are not thought defective, though, when they have given General Rules for Temperance, that men may not drink till they disable their Reason, and impair their health, &c. they do not descend particularly to determine how many Glasses a man may drink, and precisely to say, such a draught makes him Intemperate. Nor did M<sup>r</sup> Chillingworth think, he was wanting to his Adversary, who counted it *prodigiously strange*, that Protestants could not be induc'd to give in a particular Catalogue of points Fundamental, when he calls it an Unreasonable demand, because Variety of Circumstances makes it impossible to set down an exact Catalogue of them.

Chillingw.  
Religion of  
Protest. &c.  
p. 128,  
129.

I think I may have as much reason, to reckon it no Imperfection in this discourse, if I do not venture punctually to determine, how great a number of Ceremonies may be required,

quired, before we come at *Superstition*. When the number becomes so great that the shadow darkens the substance: When the substantial service of God, which should be performed in spirit and truth, is prejudic'd by the attendance that is given to the outward Ceremony: when the use of the means renders us incapable to obtain the end; then does it rise to that excessive multitude of which our Church speaks. But because the use of our liberty in other lawful things, cannot be fix'd in an Indivisible point, but alters according to the various Circumstances of times, and persons, and conditions, and relations of men; therefore no wise man will give one particular determinate rule, which shall oblige equally in all Cases.

In like manner as our Church reckons Ceremonies Indifferent, so at the same time are they concluded alterable,

alterable, and it is acknowledged, that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigency of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those in place of Authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient. And here sure must the thing rest. It must be left to the prudence of our Governours. If they shall impose any thing in which the Consciences of people are not satisfied; If in truth it shall be believed that the number of Ceremonies enjoyn'd is so great, that the means disserve the end; that what is ordain'd as an help to Piety and Devotion, does rather hinder it: these persons so dissatisfied about the number, are in the same case with those who are dissatisfied about the nature of an Injunction. If they scruple without cause, and are not duly inform'd, their scruples do not render the Injunction unlawful in

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it self. Nevertheless, the Doctrin of our Church does not encourage them to act against their Consciences, they must peaceably suffer where they cannot act. No doubt, but it is possible Church-Governours (who among us do not pretend to Infallibility) may in some things be mistaken: Yet such things as these must be left to their determination. For is it not so elsewhere? There may be too many Ale-Houses in a Town, and it may be difficult to determine exactly how many are sufficient, and where the number will exceed, but is it therefore unlawful for the Justices to licence any? There may be in a Countrey, or Town, Parishes too many for the Maintenance, or too few for the people, and it may be difficult for Authority to know exactly how many are needful and convenient; Shall there be therefore no division made into several, for  
fear

fear lest there should be too many or too few? What if there be the same difficulty in adjusting the true number of Ceremonies? yet in as much as it is necessary there should be some, because else Religion in the substance would suffer and decay; therefore is it also lawful for our Governours to make a determination in this matter.

The Determination of which number must proceed upon the same Rules of Decency, Order, and Edification, which give a law to the kind and nature of Ceremonies. And in this General may men rest satisfied till the number shall grow doubtful. Then it will concern private persons to take heed as to their own practice, that the Ceremony do not devour the substance. But because at present there is no reasonable Cause to fear; because the Ceremonies that are now requir'd are so few, that no man may  
with-

without peevishness quarrel at their number, if they be Innocent in their nature and use, therefore I return from this digression to consider that in the next place.

2. The Rites and Ceremonies of our Church are not required as things in their nature necessary, but *Indifferent*.

CANON 30.

The use of the *Cross* at Baptism is thus accounted for, as being purg'd from all Popish superstition and error, and reduc'd in the Church of England to the primary Institution of it, upon those true Rules of Doctrine concerning things Indifferent, which are consonant to the word of God and the Judgment of all Antient Fathers, &c. And upon the same Rules of Doctrine are our other Ceremonies established. For so the Preface to the *Liturgy* expresses it. The Ceremonies that remain, are retain'd for a Godly Discipline and Order, which (upon just causes) may be alter'd and chang'd,  
and



and therefore are not to be esteem'd equal with Gods Law. And the Preface that was made upon the last establishment says. *The particular forms of Divine Worship, and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be us'd therein, are things in their own Nature Indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged.* Words too plain to need a Comment, and lyable to no Objection that I can foresee, unless one of these two things shall be replyed both upon them, and all that hath hitherto been said in this matter.

First, That some things are requir'd under the Notion of things *Indifferent*, which are not so.

Secondly, Be it granted that some *Indifferent* things may be impos'd, yet it does not follow that all may, or that the things in controversy may.

We say, the things they scruple Sect. 17. are requir'd but as things *Indifferent* as indeed they are. They are not all satisfied to think so of them. The time was,

was, when T. C. did oppose our Ceremonies, not as *unlawful*, but as *inconvenient*, as hath been already said. And Mr *Ash* in the Epistle to his Funeral Sermon on Mr *Gataker*, when he had named *Cartwright*, and *Hildersham*, and *Dod*, &c. he says of them, though these men dislik'd the use of *superstitious Ceremonies*, yet they oppos'd their Tenents and practice, who separated from the Church of England, condemning it and the Ministry of it as *Antichristian*. The separation is, it seems, now advanc'd, for there are men that reckon there is more *superstition* among us, than was believ'd formerly, and therefore separate farther from us. It is denied now that these are things of *Indifferency* to be us'd (as is requir'd) in the service of God. And whereas it is supposed that we say that the Imposition of Rulers makes *Indifferent* things cease to be *Indifferent*, they answer.

*Modest  
Disc. of Ce-  
rimon. p. 8.*

*Petition for  
Peace. p. 19.*

*They are not Indifferent in the Judgment*  
of

of Dissenters, though they be so in ours. Exercit. about an O-  
pinion Con-  
sci. p. 80.  
They think they have probable Arguments to judge it unlawful to Minister in a Surplice, to sign with the sign of the Cross in Baptism, and to kneel in the Act of receiving the Lords Supper. Yea these things are so far from being Indifferent, that they are thought so Unlawful, as that because of them people separate from our Churches. For whatever reasons may perswade their Guides not to conform, yet the people separate from us, that they may not partake with our Ceremonies, or for a worse reason.

I could not altogether omit so necessary a part of my Discourse, but because it hath been so often said, I pass it in fewer words. *Where no Law* Rom. 4. *is there is no Transgression.* That which is not forbid is not Unlawful. Are these Rites and Ceremonies forbid in the word of God? By what Text? perhaps by the second Commandment, or by

by those words of St. Matth. Teaching for Doctrine the Commandments of men: Ch. 15. or by the Text of Will-Worship, 2 Colos. or because we may not add to, nor diminish from the word of God, Deuterom. 4. Now because the Surplice, and Cross, and Kneeling, are not named in these Texts (as was upon occasion said before) therefore Consequences must be drawn from them, and labour'd so long, till the Conclusion must hold as firm as confidence can make it. Because the second Command forbids making and worshiping graven Images, therefore all devices and Inventions of mans brain must have no place in Divine Worship. Ergo, what? Ergo, rend the Surplice, &c. As if the Bason at the Desk were not as much the device of man as the Font, and the Directory were not as obnoxious as the Rubrick.

If our Church did equal her commands

mands to the word of God, then were she guilty of adding to the word, and establishing the Commands of men in the room of the Doctrines of God. If any accidents may bring our Rites within the compass of some general prohibitions, the Unlawfulness of them upon that account, will be to be consider'd in what next follows. If they shall be denied *Indifferent* in their own Nature, and yet no one Text of Scripture can be produc'd that speaks one word about them, they who shall so deny, do both bring an Unanswerable prejudice against all the particular establishments, made by the General Rules of prudence, whether by the *Presbyterians* or *Independents*, and do also quite mistake the nature of a thing *Indifferent*.

If we descend to particular Instances, I desire to know, why the *Surplice* is not as Indifferent as a *Gown* or *Cloak*.

*Cloak.* Not because it is, a white Garment, for then why are not Bands Unlawful? And where is the Text that forbids white more than black? Nor because it is of such a fashion; for the Scripture gives no more directions for the shaping of a *Cloak* than a *Surplice*. Why then? Surely either because it is thought *decent* or *significant*, or because it is *appropriated to divine worship*.

1. If it be *decent*, then is it no Error to think it so; then the Apostolical *Canon*, *let all things be done decently*, justifies and maintains it. And is it not decent? Does nature teach so,
- 1 Cor. 11. to whom St. Paul appeals? We do not find any inbred shame, as if we did somewhat Unnatural in the use of it. Does *Scripture* pronounce it uncomely? We cannot find it. There is no other Rule for Decency, but either common estimation, or the pleasure of our Governours; for the latter

latter we are secure, and set peevishness aside, fear not being condemn'd by the former.

2. Peradventure it is thought *significant*, therefore not *Indifferent*. I answer: that a *significant Ceremony* (if this should be such) only as such, is not *superstitious*. But who told our men of scruples, that it is urg'd as significant of Candor and Purity? By what *Canon* or *Rubrick* is any man oblig'd to have such an Opinion of it? Whatever others, who may have a better Opinion of significant Ceremonies, may think of it, he who is satisfied to wear it as a decent Garment, transgresses no Law, if he think no more.

3. Is it unlawful and not *Indifferent*, because it is appropriated to Divine Service? This it seems is Dr Collings's *Exercit. of Opin. Consc.* scruple, who thinks it *Unlawful* to wear *p. 80.* any habit peculiarly appropriated to the worship of God. I wonder then how it

can be lawful to lean on a Pulpit Cushion, or to use a Communion Cup, if the Church-Wardens should be so *superstitious* as to lock them up and preserve them from all other uses. If there be any thing in Scripture that forbids the use of a Garment upon any of these accounts, somewhat will be offer'd worth considering, till then, we continue to believe it *Indifferent* and free from *superstition*.

2. Why is not *Kneeling, &c. Indifferent*? not because it is a *posture*, for so is *sitting*, but because it is such a posture. And what is it? A posture us'd upon any *superstitious Opinion*? Let us know what that is. Is it suspected to signifie our Adoration of the Elements? The *Declaration* of our *Liturgy* delivers us from that suspicion, and authorizes us to reckon them pitifully Ignorant, or monstrously Uncharitable, who after so plain a  
Decla-



Declaration will suspect it. What it signifies we there read. *This Order* Order for Adminis. of H. Comm. *is well meant for a signification of our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ, and for the avoiding of prophanation and disorder.* If it be unlawful to signify humility and thankfulness, why do we at any time kneel or lift up our hands and eyes to Heaven? Or if it be unlawful to avoid prophanation and disorder, then let St. Paul be reprov'd for setting things in Order in the Church of *Corinth*. Till I can find some Text that forbids Kneeling, or till I can be satisfied that some *superstitious* Opinion gives occasion to it, I must continue to reckon this also *Indifferent*. 1 Cor. 11.

3. And to the same purpose I say of the *Cross* at *Baptism*. How *superstitiously* the *Papists* use it, I shall have occasion to say, but our use of it being no where in Scripture forbid, unless it can be proved, that our 30th

*Canon* (of which before) gives a false Account of it, unless there be some *Popish* (or other) *superstition* or error from which it is not sufficiently purg'd, it remains in its nature *Indifferent*. Our general Answer in all is, as before, *Where no Law is, there is no Transgression. What is not forbid, is allowed, is not Unlawful.*

Sect. 18. 2. There may be some who will grant that some *Indifferent* things may be Impos'd, yet will not yield that our Ceremonies therefore may, because of some objections against them, which have not equal force against all matters *Indifferent*. Such are these two thought to be.

1. The case of Scandal and giving offence to weak Brethren.

2. Because they have been abus'd among the Papists.

I should be asham'd to mention these things wherein the N. C<sup>ts</sup>. have been so often answer'd, did I not consider,

sider, that till this be clear'd, the prejudice which I desire to remove will still remain; for if for these reasons Conformity be Unlawful, then may it seem, that they who either impose or practise it, have an undue opinion of that which is so unlawful, and that opinion shall be suspected of *superstition*. I proceed therefore to say, If they who impose these Rites, did not in truth judge them expedient and decent in the worship of God, only because they think them barely lawful, they urge them as believing many scrupulous minds will be offended at them, and therefore they lay them as Snares, and take advantage to incommode and bring under a penalty, those who scruple them; this might be called *Tyranny*, but not properly *superstition*, and so would not reach our Case. I make not this supposition as if I would tempt any dissatisfied man so

to judge of them, for assuredly it is no less than a blaspheming of Dignities, to think they enact Conformity for this reason. But I find they who pretend to be dissatisfied will thus suspect. And M<sup>r</sup> Bagshaw thus expresses it, *Whoever obtrudes his conceits upon others, who perhaps are not so well satisfied as he is; becomes impious to God, by invading his sovereignty, and lording it over another mans Conscience; and likewise injurious to men, by pressing such things as are only baits to the careless, and traps for the Conscientious. Unless there be more hypocrisy than superstition in our Governours, this cannot be the case, for they profess to have done that which to their best understandings they conceiv'd might most tend to the preservation of peace and unity in the Church, the procuring of Reverence, and exciting of Devotion, in the publick worship of God, and the cutting off occasion from them that seek occasion of cavil or quarrel*

*Two great  
Queries  
concerning  
things In-  
diff. p. 11.*

*Preface to  
the Liturgy.*

quarrel against the Liturgy of the Church. They have then imposed nothing, but what they judg'd not only lawful, but expedient; which Impositions being already prov'd *Indifferent*, unless the Circumstances that attend them render them such, may not be judg'd *superstitious*.

It is therefore to be consider'd, whether either of the two suspicions now mention'd, be reason enough to charge our way of worship as *superstitious*.

1. Suppose the Governours of the Church do not err in esteeming these things in their own nature *Indifferent*, yet say *Dissenters*, in as much as they are offensive to many Godly and Conscientious men, they ought not to be impos'd; or if they be, it will be doubtful, whether the great opinion they have of such matters, as to enjoin them notwithstanding their offensiveness, be not a *superstitious* Opinion.

I answer. If the Act for Uniformity should contradict those Precepts of the Gospel, that oblige us not to *lay stumbling-blocks*, nor *give offence to our weak Brother*; in as much as *giving offence* and not *walking charitably* are the same thing, this procedure would be a trespass against the second Table, rather than the First, would be *uncharitableness* rather than *superstition*. It will be replied. Though directly it be an offence against our Neighbour, yet reductively it is against the First Table, because such a practice is declarative of some undue and *superstitious* Opinions of those things which are so impos'd. Let it be added therefore. So long as private persons are not determin'd by the Laws of their Superiors, it concerns them warily to use their liberty, to take heed that their doing that which is lawful, may not tempt others to do the same thing, while they

they judge it unlawful, which is the offending of our Brother, of which St. Paul speaks to the *Romans* and *Corinthians*, who only discourses of what ought to be done in those Cases, where no lawful power had interpos'd, to determine them one way or other. For eating flesh and letting it alone were both lawful, and remain'd *Indifferent* in nature and use too: Now so long as the case remains thus, the Law of not scandalizing a weak Brother is a Moral Law, because it is an instance of the great Law of *loving our Neighbour as our selves, and doing to others as we would have them do to us*, wherefore so far as it is practicable it obliges. But this may not be extended to disoblige the subject from obeying his superiours in lawful things, nor to disable the Magistrate from making laws in things *Indifferent*.

First, it does not disoblige the subject,

ject, because the law of obedience to our Superiors being also a Moral Law, either we are at the same time oblig'd by two laws which contradict, or one must yield to the other. If wearing the *Surplice* offend, I must either disobey the Magistrate, or offend my Brother. Which then of these two must give place? According to the N. C<sup>s</sup>. we must relinquish a certain Rule for that which is uncertain. What the Magistrate commands is certain, it is also certain, that I am in my Conscience resolv'd of the lawfulness of that which is so Commanded (taking it abstractly from its offensiveness) If I must now demur in my obedience lest I give offence, how shall I certainly know whether I offend or no? how shall I know how many I may offend? What assurance shall I have but my Non-Conformity may offend as many on the other side? I shall now  
proceed



proceed by an uncertain Rule, because I know not whither it will carry me, and I am in a Case wherein one Moral Law must give place to another. Whereas upon our Principles things are fairly reconcilable. In matters undetermin'd by Law, where we are at our liberty, we must walk charitably and take heed that we give no offence, that our *liberty become not a stumbling-block*, <sup>1 Cor. 8.9.</sup> this is the Moral Law, and this is Gospel. But there is no Precept of the Gospel that commands us to disobey our Superiors lawful commands for an uncertain danger of giving offence. Wherefore when we practise Conformity in obedience to establish'd Laws, although peradventure we should offend our weak Brother, yet do we not thereby declare a *superstitious* Opinion of the Ceremonies we use. We may think our selves oblig'd to obey our Governours

vernours in all lawful things, and yet not think of the *Surplice* or *Croß*, &c. more highly than we ought to think.

2. And as it does not disoblige the subject from Obedience, so neither may it be thought to disable the Magistrate from making laws about things *Indifferent*. For if it did, it were not safe to make any laws about *Decency* and *Order*, because the Magistrate can never be secure, but his Determinations may be so cross to the opinions of some of his subjects, as to make them *offend* if they obey. But it hath been already evinc'd, that the N. C<sup>ts</sup>. yield the Magistrate a power to proceed according to the Rules of Christian Prudence in governing the Church: And the frame of the *Directory*, and the urging of the *Covenant* do sufficiently assure us, that the hazard of *scandalizing a weak Brother*, was no restraint to an Ordinance

nance of the *Lords and Commons*. He who in his Conscience thought there was no way of worship so Regular as that of the *Church of England*: He who thought he should sin if he should conform to the *Directory*, was not thereby excus'd from *sequestration*. Yet I dare say, they would take it ill, if they should be suspected of *superstition*, of having an undue opinion of their manner of Divine Service. And I cannot yet see why they, commanding men to receive the Sacrament *sitting*, when probably that would tempt some men not to receive it at all, did not as much offend their Brother, and did not as much declare that they had a *superstitious* opinion of such *sitting*, as the commands that now require *Kneeling* may be so interpreted.

2. Nor does the second scruple weigh much. Our Ceremonies are suppos'd to have been abus'd among the  
the

the *Papists*, and this is made a great Argument by the N. C<sup>s</sup>. why they should not be retain'd. To this the Answer hath been so often given to this purpose, that by the same reason our Churches may not be now us'd, nor our Bells which have been Christen'd, nor any thing retain'd that relates to Divine Worship, but what is of absolute necessity, and is particularly commanded; that I dwell not here any farther than, according to my former Method, to give a Testimony how little this objection signifies when it is made against them.

Survey of  
the H. pre-  
tended Dis-  
cipl. p. 315,  
316.

It had been laid to T. C's. charge, that he should thus declaim against the Church of England. The Communion Book was taken out of the *Mass-Book*, that it were better to conform our selves in outward things to the Turks than to the *Papists*. Whatsoever comes from the Pope which is *Antichrist*, comes first from the Devil,

*Devil, &c.* In the time of this Rail-  
lery it did chance to be laid to his  
charge, that their *Disciplinarian* way  
did smell of *Donatism* and *Anabaptism*,  
and was a kind of *Papism*. Now what  
defence does he make? *If amongst the*  
*filth of their Heresies* (viz. the *Papists*,  
*Donatists*, and *Anabaptists*) *there may*  
*be found any good thing* (as it were a grain  
of good Corn in a great deal of Darnel)  
*that we willingly receive, not as theirs, but*  
*as the Jews did the Holy Ark from the*  
*Philistins, whereof they were unjust Own-*  
*ers.* Yea it may come to pass that the Syna-  
gogue of Satan may at some time have some  
one thing with more convenience than the  
Catholick Church of Christ.

Our *Liturgy* is indeed taken from  
them, but as gold is purg'd from  
dross. And there are divers things  
wherein we agree with them, be-  
cause it is no crime to agree with  
them there, where they do not dis-  
agree with the word of God: And  
because

because it is not hard to believe that running into a contrary extream, that an Averſation from what is Innocent among them, does harden them in their Errors as much, yea a great deal more, than a retaining ſome Customs which may honeſtly be retain'd. If we do not ſymbolize with them in the *ſuperſtition* of their Rites, there is no reaſon we ſhould be charg'd with *ſuperſtition*, becauſe we do not run a madding from them as far as we are able into another extream.

This is that I had to ſay to the ſecond general Proposition (which hath exceeded the proportion of the other, becauſe it was my chief deſign.) *The Doctrines upon which the Conformity of the Church of England is eſta- bliſhed, are not ſuperſtitious Opinions.*

Sect. 19.

3. *The Opinions that are ſuperſtitious, ſuch as are divers which obtain in the Church of Rome and elſewhere, are re- jected*

jected by the Church of England. There are many differences between us and the Church of Rome, and they are not all reducible to this Topick of *superstition*. There are Doctrines among them of other denominations, because they serve some secular Interest of profit, or pleasure, or honour; so is it easy to evince, that the Doctrine of *Purgatory*, and *Celibacy of Priests*, and others are Doctrines of men who reckon gain their *Godliness*. The Doctrine of *Indulgences* and *Dispensations*, &c. does not only design profit, but together with other loose Doctrines of *Morality*, makes a very easie way to Heaven, and so is sensual and pleasurable. And the *Supremacy* of the *Pope* and exemption of *Ecclesiasticks* from secular Jurisdiction, is a Doctrine of Mundane greatness and unsufferable Ambition. There may be a mixture of *superstition* in all or any of these, according as mens apprehensions

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hensions are concerning them. But there are other matters, wherein I give account of their *superstition*. Bishop *Morton* hath comprehended this in three generals, wherein he does at the same time vindicate the *Church of England*, and condemn that of *Rome*.

Presentment  
of a Schif-  
matick.  
p. 14.

Our Church in her Service-Book does make known to all the World, that she does detest the superstition of the Romish Ceremonies, by condemning their superstitious Opinions. First, In making them necessary parts of Gods Worship. Secondly, In ascribing an efficacious sanctity to them. Thirdly, By arrogating a meritorious condignity from them to themselves. I need not restrain my discourse to Ceremonies only, be it in Ceremony or be it in substance; If I make it appear that they esteem that a necessary part of Gods worship which ought not to be so esteem'd, (and so for the other two) I shall conclude right when I charge them with *superstition*. An



An Enumeration of particulars will be the best evidence in this matter. I therefore give Instances to show that for these several reasons the Church of Rome is guided by *superstitious Opinions to superstitious practices*, by which it will also appear that the Church of England does renounce those practices, at least if for other reasons some of them be retain'd, yet the Opinion which is the original of their practice is disowned by us.

1. That opinion is *superstitious* whereby men judge and esteem any usages in Religion necessary when they are not so, or more necessary than indeed they are. When men advance any thing in the worship of God beyond its nature, judging that to be holy, and to have a relation to God which hath none, or to have a nearer relation than in truth it hath. Pius IV. in a Creed which he impos'd, furnishes us with sufficient Instances.

Oronphius  
in Vit. Pii  
4. p. (mih)  
384.

When he had by his *Diploma* allow'd and confirm'd all that was done at the *Council of Trent*, he proceeded to direct in what manner *Bishops* should be made.

Then it follows. *Hanc Fidei formulam quam Episcopi designati profiterentur instituit.* He appointed a certain *Creed* which all that were to be made *Bishops* should make profession of. In the Conclusion of which *Creed* are these words. *Hanc veram Catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest sponte profiteor, &c.* This true Catholick Faith, out of which no man can be saved, I willingly profess. Now among the *Creenda*, which he reckons, and obliges others to reckon necessary to Salvation, are such as these. That there are seven *Sacraments* of the *New Testament* properly so called, instituted by *Jesus Christ*. The propitiatory Sacrifice of the *Mass*, *Transubstantiation*, *Purgatory*, *Invocation of Saints*, worshipping *Relique*

liques and Images; and lest enough should not be crowded into that Creed, it is added. *Cætera item omnia à sacrosanctâ Tridentinâ Synodo tradita, definita & declarata indubitanter recipio atq; profiteor.* All that was determin'd at the Council of Trent is to be receiv'd without scruple. This is the Faith without which (they say) no man can be saved.

How these Opinions are rejected by our Church is too plain to need proof. It rest to say, however otherwise faulty and dangerous they are, this makes them *superstitious*, that they are made necessary, whereas indeed they are false. I mean not every thing established by that Council of Trent, but the Articles before-named, and divers other like things decreed in that Council.

If the Intendment of this Essay were principally against the Church of Rome, it would the less be an ex-

cursion, if the things now mention'd were severally consider'd, and their repugnancy to Scripture shown; but being design'd rather for the Vindication of the *Church of England*, and that for the sake of those who agree with us in rejecting these Doctrines, I am not willing to engage in all these Controversies. I think it sufficient to add another instance under this Head, and so convict them together of *superstition*.

Histor.  
Concil.  
Trident.  
Sess. 4.

The Council of Trent does advance *Unwritten Traditions* to an Authority equal with the word of God. When the question is mov'd what are these Unwritten Traditions, their Authors distinguish between such as are *Divine, Apostolical, and Ecclesiastical*. Those which they call Divine are in the Account of *Azorius*, such as these. *Purgatory, Transubstantiation, Invocation of Saints, worshipping Images, Communion in one kind enough for Laicks, &c.* Whereas the

Azor. In-  
stitut. Mo-  
ral. Part. 1.  
lib. 8. Cap.  
4.

the question may be again ask'd, how shall we know that these are Divine Traditions after some other Rules, Bellarmine wholly rests it upon the Testimony of the Romish Church. *Ex Testimonio hujus solius Ecclesiae sumi potest Certum Argumentum ad probandum Apostolicas Traditiones.* From the Testimony of the alone Church of Rome may a man have a certain Argument to prove Apostolical Traditions. Which rule I suppose he intends for the assuring us of Divine Traditions too: for so he had before join'd them. *Asserimus in scripturis non contineri expresse Totam Doctrinam necessariam, sive de fide sive de moribus, & proinde præter verbum Dei scriptum requiri etiam verbum Dei non scriptum, i. e. Divinas & Apostolicas Traditiones.* We assert that the scripture does not contain all necessary Doctrine, whether about Faith or manners, there is therefore moreover requir'd, Divine and Apostolical Tradition.

Bellarmin.  
De Verbo  
Dei non  
scripto.  
Cap. 9.

Id. ibid.  
Cap. 3.

Isai. 29.

From these premises I argue to the *superstition* of the Church of Rome. Because they practise in their Sacraments and elsewhere upon *superstitious opinions*. The Devotion of the Jews is thus challeng'd, *Their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men*. The Messages which God Almighty sent them by his Prophets, were not the Rule of their worship, but the Traditions of men were instead of the word of God. And this was their *Indebitus cultus*, their *superstition*: This Text the Septuagint translate, *ματριν δε* Matth. 15. *οδονται με*. In Vain do they worship me, teaching the commands of men and Doctrines. St. Matthew hath alter'd the site of one word, and there we read in application to the Pharisees. *In Vain do they worship me teaching for Doctrines the Commands of men*. The case to which this quotation is there applied, is their making the Fifth Commandment of none effect by their Tra-

Tradition. That which God had made necessary by his Command [*Honour thy Father and Mother*] with that they dispens'd. That which God had not made necessary by any express Declaration of his pleasure, that was made necessary by their Tradition. And this was their *superstition*.

To which the case of the Church of Rome is but too parallel. They make the *second Command* of none effect by their Tradition of *worshipping Images*. In other things they make that necessary which the written word of God hath not made so. Some of which Traditions if they be not directly contrary to the word of God, yet because they are arrogantly equalled, and commanded to be received *Pari pietatis affectu & reverentiâ*; the practices that flow from these Doctrines cannot be excus'd from *superstition*, as we now use the word  
(and

(and as they, as well as we, define the thing) for an excess in Religion, whereby men worship God, after such a manner as they ought not.

Sect. 20. 2. The second Account of their *superstition* is, that they ascribe an *Efficacious sanctity* to their Ceremonies. Here also Instances will make it plain, both that they are thus chargeable, and that the Church of England does reject these Opinions.

Aquin. ter-  
tia Pars qu.  
25. Artic.  
4

The Doctrine of Rome is, that the Cross is to be worshipped with the highest kind of worship. *Crux Christi in qua Christus Crucifixus est, tum propter representationem, tum propter membrorum Christi contactum Latriâ adoranda est. Crucis vero Effigies in aliâ quâvis materiâ priori tantum ratione Latriâ adoranda est.* The Cross whereon Christ was Crucified is to be worshipped with Latriâ, both because of its representation, and because of its touching the Body of Christ. But the sign of the Cross elsewhere, is to be wor-  
shipped.



shipped only for the former reason, (which last words were well put in, for it would be a wonder indeed, if the sign of the Cross made at Rome, should deserve worship *propter Contactum*.) This we contend is *superstitious*, because the Opinions they have of the Cross are such. For they ascribe such Effects to the Cross, which neither the word of God ascribes to it, nor any mans reason without the help of feigned Miracles, or Traditions (before accounted for) would expect from it. Take it in Bellarmin's words. 1° *Tres sunt Effectus Crucis mirabiles. Terret & fugat Dæmones* : 2° *pellit morbos & omnia mala* : 3° *Sanctificat ea quibus imprimitur*. There are Three wonderful effects of the Cross. First, It frights and scares away the Devil. Secondly, It drives away Diseases and all Evils. Thirdly, It sanctifies those things upon which it is made. The first of these effects he ascribes to it for  
Three

Bell. de  
Imagin.  
Sancto-  
rum lib. 2.  
Cap. 30.

Ibid.

Three Causes. *Ex apprehensione Dæmonis, ex Devotione hominis, ex Instituto Dei.* From the apprehension of the Devil, from the Devotion of man, from the Institution of God. So that they suppose the appointment of God hath empowr'd the Cross to scare the Devil. The power of sanctifying that upon which the sign of the Cross is made, he makes parallel with the power which he supposes in Reliques. *Sanctificantur aliquo modo ii qui tangunt Reliquias,* which he hath the confidence to assert upon the Authority of the Fathers.

Ibid.

Our 30<sup>th</sup> Canon (as hath been said) rejects these *superstitions and errors.* Which *superstition* we therefore lay to their charge, because they ascribe an effect to a certain Cause, without a sufficient warrant. That the sign of the Cross hath not naturally in it self any power of sanctifying or curing, *Bellarmino* can't but acknowledge.

Signum

*Signum Crucis operatur mirabilia non ex* Id. ibid.

*virtute sua naturali quam habet ut figura quædam, sed ut signum divinitus Institutum.* The sign of the Cross works wonders, not as a certain figure, by any natural virtue, but as a sign appointed of God. Here is then *superstition*, to esteem the sign of the Cross more holy than indeed it is, to believe it to have such a relation to God, which it can't be prov'd to have, to ascribe to it a virtue which no syllable in the H. Scripture declares to us. And who hath known the mind of God any farther than he hath been pleas'd to reveal it to us?

*Estius* makes a little attempt to deliver such like Ceremonies as this is from *superstition*. *Si debito decentique modo expectetur effectus aliquis à Deo, etiamsi naturali virtute haberi non potest, nulla est superstitio.* If the effect be expected in a due and decent manner, though the cause cannot by any natural virtue produce

*Estius in*  
*sentent.*  
*Tom. 3.*  
*Distinc.*  
*37. Sec. 8.*

Math. 10.  
Luke 10.

produce it, it is no superstition. So, he says, the Church does consecrate Salt and Holy-Water, &c. because Christ gave his Apostles power over unclean Spirits, and power to tread on Serpents and Scorpions, &c. which power he supposes still to reside in the Church. As *Elisha* cur'd the waters with salt, as Christ cur'd blind Eyes with clay and spittle, in like manner, *potestas exorcizandi Dæmones à Christo Apostolis tradita usq; in hodiernum diem in Ecclesiâ permanet.* The power of casting out Devils committed by Christ to his Apostles remains in the Church to this day. If we will take Forgeries and cheats for real miracles, the thing is proved. But if we should be a little scrupulous, and require better proof of matter of fact, and till that be given, should doubt whether the Apostles power of working Miracles be transmitted to this age, we are then at a great loss to solve the *Phænomenon*, and to clear the use of the

the

the Croſs and holy water, &c. from ſu-  
perſtition. Whereas it is confeſſed, that  
the natural virtue of theſe Ceremo-  
nies can't produce ſuch effects, it is  
alſo as plain, ſo far as the Word of  
God is our guide, that we have no  
ſufficient warrant to expect theſe pre-  
ternatural and extraordinary Events,  
becauſe there is no divine promiſe  
annex'd to the uſe of theſe things.

Of the ſame nature is that Doctrine  
that the Sacraments confer Grace, *Ex  
opere Operato*. The Council of Trent <sup>Hiſtor.  
Conc.</sup> anathematizes them who ſay, <sup>Trid. ſeſſ.  
7.</sup> *per*  
*Sacramenta non conferri gratiam virtute*  
*miniſtrationis eorum, ſive ex opere operato.*  
That the Sacraments do not confer grace  
by virtue of the very adminiſtration of  
them, or by the deed done. So Bellarmine  
begins his ſecond Book, *De effectu*  
*Sacramentorum*, with this enquiry. *An*  
*sacramenta novæ legis ſint vera Cauſæ*  
*juſtificationis ex opere operato.* Whether  
the Sacraments of the Goſpel be true cau-  
ſes

*ses of Justification by virtue of the deed done.* That they are so, and that they are thereby distinguished from the Sacraments of the old Law, he offers to prove in the process of that Book. In which though it be true, that he speaks of Faith and Repentance as dispositions in the subject, to mollify the Opinion, yet there is no doubt but their Opinion is, that the Sacraments confer grace, however indispos'd the subject be. Which appears by the absolutions that are given upon Confession, even there, where no Contrition shows it self. According to the Jesuit's Doctrine, *they ought not to be deny'd or delay'd absolution, who continue in habitual sins, against the laws of God, and nature, and the Church, though they discover not the least hope of amendment.* And *Valentia* determines that Contrition is not requisite at all in order to obtain the principal effect of the Sacrament, nay on the contrary it is rather

Myft. Je-  
fuitif. Let-  
ter 10. p.

145. 150.  
T. Bauny.

Ibid.

rather obstructive. Yea Bellarmine him-  
 self elsewhere distinguishes between  
*opus operatum*, and *opus operantis*. When  
 men pray for help against Diseases,  
 the effect does not infallibly follow,  
 for this reason, *quia tunc effectus non*  
*producitur ex opere operato, more Sacra-*  
*mentorum, sed ex opere operantis*. Be-  
 cause it is not produc'd by the deed done,  
 as in the Sacraments, but supposes the dis-  
 position of the doer. What they thus at-  
 tribute to the Sacraments, Azorius ex-  
 tends to sacramentals (though he con-  
 fesses some Romanists are against  
 him) he affirms that the very sprink-  
 ling with *Holy-Water* without consi-  
 deration of the act of Repentance,  
 does away venial sins.

Bellarmin.  
 de Imagin.  
 Sanctorum  
 lib. 2. Cap.  
 30.

Institut.  
 Moral.  
 Part. 1. lib.  
 4. Cap. 11.

How much our Church ascribes to  
 Sacraments, is plain. They are sure  
 witnesses and effectual signs of Gods Grace  
 and good will towards us, by which he  
 does work invisibly in us. But in the same  
 Article it is declar'd against the *Opus*

Artic. 25.

M

Opera-

*Operatum*, for in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholefome effect or operation.

The dangerous Consequences of this their Doctrine, especially as their late Casuists have improv'd it, I now exaggerate not. All that I would conclude hence is, that their worship of God in the Sacraments, because it is built upon this opinion, is *superstitious*. God alone is the fountain of Grace, he conveys it into the hearts of men as he pleases: But no man hath reason to expect it by any other means than what God hath promised to bless. The Sacraments are of excellent use: But there is no promise extant that the bare receiving the *Eucharist*, whatever the disposition or indispotion of the Receiver be, shall produce this effect (and it is conferring grace in *Adultis*, that is now to be consider'd.) Nay, we are assur'd that he who *eats and drinks*



drinks unworthily, eats and drinks damnation to himself. Wherefore he who promises to himself, that which God hath not promis'd, he who expects grace upon these terms, who receives the Sacrament upon an Opinion, that the deed done (however it be done) will bring him into a state of grace, is *superstitious* in so thinking and so doing.

The Doctrine of Merit is another *superstitious Opinion*. If Bellarmine understood it, this it is. *Opera bona Justorum meritoria sunt vitæ æternæ ex condigno, non solum ratione pacti & acceptationis, sed etiam ratione operis.* The good works of just men do merit life eternal of condignity, not only because of the Covenant of grace, but also from the nature of the works themselves. Moreover beyond the bare merit of good works, he affirms, that as a man may merit a reward to himself, so he may make satisfaction for the release and

Sect. 21.  
Bellarm.  
de Justifi-  
cat. lib. 3.  
Cap. 17.

discharge of another. And this is the foundation of their doctrine of *Indulgences*. Extat *Theaurus aliquis in Ecclesiâ qui sit Indulgentiarum Fundamentum*. For the making good of which he thus argues and proceeds.

Bellarmin.  
de Indulgent.  
lib. 1.  
Cap. 2.

*Prima Propositio. In bonis actionibus hominum Justorum duplex valor sive pretium assignari potest, meriti, viz. & satisfactionis.*

*Secunda Propos. Opus bonum quâ parte meritorium est, non potest alii applicari, potest tamen quâ satisfactorium.*

*Tertia Propos. Extat in Ecclesiâ Theaurus satisfactionum ex Christi passionibus infinitus, qui nunquam exauriri poterit.*

*Quarta Propos. Ad hunc Theaurum superfluentium satisfactionum pertinent etiam passionibus B. Mariæ Virginis, & omnium aliorum sanctorum qui plus passi sunt quam eorum peccata requirerent.*

That is in short. Together with the infinite value of the satisfactory sufferings  
of

of our Saviour, The sufferings of the B. Virgin Mary and all other Saints, who have suffer'd more than their sins requir'd, are to be join'd, by which as they have merited to themselves, so have they satisfied for others.

How much this dishonours the Undertakings of our B. Saviour, and for what other reasons we explode the Doctrine of *Merit*, and the appendage of *satisfaction*, and *Indulgences*, I have not now to say. The superstition of these Opinions is now to be consider'd.

Bellarmin's Controversies would not have deserv'd the Character given them by *Albertus Hungerius*, in his approbation prefix'd to the First Tome, viz. *Integerrimum, pulcherrimum absolutissimumq; Controversiarum omnium corpus*, A most Entire and Compleat body of Controversies; if he had balk't any of the Doctrines currant at Rome. So he must write when he

Bellarm.  
de Justifi-  
cat. lib. 5.  
Cap. 7.

pleads for a party ; but I think it no very difficult task, to find some acknowledgments, even in those same Books of Controversies , which would greatly weaken most of the things in difference between us, which he would establish. In this of *Merit*, who hath not heard of that famous resolution of his: *Propter incertitudinem propriæ Justitiæ & periculum inanis gloriæ, Tutissimum est fiduciam totam in solâ Dei misericordiâ & benignitate reponere.* Because of the Uncertainty of our own righteousness, and the danger of Vain glory , It is most safe to put our whole confidence only in the mercy and goodness of God.

— Si sic  
Omnia dixisset —

How well does this agree with what we say in our Office of the *H. Communion* ! We do not presume to come  
to

to this thy Table, O Merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great Mercies, &c. And with our 12 Article. Good works which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of Gods Judgment. We will join against the Antinomians, and with great zeal assert the necessity of good works, if the merit of them may be excluded, but that we can't but charge with *superstition*.

He who gives Alms, &c. does a good work acceptable to God by Jesus Christ; but he who opines, he thereby merits the favour of God (any otherwise than because God has promis'd to accept such services) He who apprehends such a worthiness in what he does, as that for its own sake he may expect to receive some reward, because there is some proportion and equality in it, *ad præmium vitæ æternæ*, as Bellarmine

speaks: He who designs to oblige Almighty God by his good works; hath a proud conceit of himself, who when he hath done all he can, *is but an Unprofitable servant*; and he has a false and undue Opinion of God, to think a man may be profitable to God, as men may be one to another. Therefore are these services *superstitions*, because they are perform'd upon false and undue Opinions, and he who thus worships God, does that which is not requir'd at his hands.

If these things wanted evidence, I might add their works of *supererogation*, their *Austerities* and penances, so far as they apprehend a Merit in *Opere Operato*. Also other things might have a place in this Argument, and might range by themselves, if they be not reducible to any of Bishop *Mortons* general heads. Such as are, *Their publick Prayers in the Church, in a Tongue not understood of the people.* Their  
requiring

requiring and using such a vast number of Ceremonies, which by their great excess and multitude become a burden intolerable (as the Preface to our *Liturgy* acknowledges) These and such like things can't be excus'd from *superstition*.

Together with these I might add a number of observations which are neither proper to *Popery*, nor indeed to the *Christian Religion*, but are scatter'd all over the World. Such as St. *Austin* means when he complains of *Millia inanissimarum observationum*, &c. and such as *Aquinas* comprehends, when he makes divers kinds of *superstition*, *Divinationes* & *varia observationum genera*. Of which Customs *Mahometanism* and *Gentilism* are very full. But having given account of these before, I pass them with this general acknowledgment.

Whatever we do upon a Religious account, where Religion, properly

perly so called, ought not to be concern'd ; When any undue Opinion of God excites us to any action, when we exercise our selves in that, which may be deservedly called, *Indebitus Dei Cultus* , when we think God is pleas'd with such a manner of performance , which does not please him ; as it does well agree with the Import of *Δεισιμαγωγία* (an over-timorous and servile apprehension of the Deity) so may it properly be called *superstition*.

But in as much as it is very evident, that the *superstitious* Opinions of the Church of *Rome* are rejected by the Church of *England*, in as much as it can't be prov'd, that any of our service is enjoin'd upon any other Opinion equally *superstitious* ; we conclude, there is wrong done us, when *superstition* is laid to our charge. Yea, if peradventure some of our Church should have private Opinions



ons of their own, that might render their particular practices *superstitious*, yet this is enough to deliver our service from the Imputation, and in this we persist as our just Vindication.

There is no *Canon* nor *Rubrick*, no *Article* nor *Injunction* that obliges any within our Communion to any *superstitious Opinion*.

4. *Proposition.*

Sect. 22.

There are *superstitious Omissions* of which men may be guilty; and that then, when they seem to have a great zeal against *superstition*. It was laid to the N. C<sup>ts</sup>. charge in *King James* his time, that they were guilty of *negative superstition*. A phrase cavil'd at by those who reply upon *Bishop Morton*, but *D<sup>r</sup> Burges* has sufficiently vindicated it, and commends them to their friend *Ames*, who comprehends it in his definition of *superstition*. For when he had defin'd it to be an excess

*Burges Answer Re-join'd Preface, p. 64.*

Medul.  
Theolog.  
lib. 2. Cap.

13.

excess of Religion; He adds, *cujusmodi excessus non tantum est in exercitiis positivis, sed etiam in Abstinentiâ à quarundam rerum usu, ut acibus.* This excess of Religion is not only in what we positively do, but may be also, in what we abstain from, as Meats.

True it is, that superstition is an excess, as it hath been defin'd, yet the defect in the practice may be *superstitious*, because it may proceed from excess in the Opinion. For if a *superstitious* Opinion be the reason why men abstain from the use of a Ceremony, that abstinence is as properly *superstitious*, as the use of it upon a *superstitious* Opinion can be. My Lord

Bacon Es-  
say of Super-  
stition.

Bacon says well and wisely. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best, if they go farthest from the superstition formerly received.

There is a *superstitious* fearfulness in some men, of which St. Austin complains thus. *Sensi saepe dolens & gemens,*

August. Ja-  
nuario. Ep.  
118.

*multas*

*multas infirmorum perturbationes fieri, per quorundam fratrum contentiosam obstinationem & superstitiosam timiditatem, qui in rebus hujusmodi, quæ neq; sacræ scripturæ Authoritate neq; Universalis Ecclesiæ traditione neq; vitæ corrigendæ utilitate ad certum possunt terminum pervenire, tantum quia subest qualiscunq; ratiocinatio, cogitantis aut quia in suâ patriâ sic ipse consuevit, aut quia ibi vidit, ubi peregrinationem suam quò remotiorem à suis eò doctiorem factam putant, tam litigiosas excitant quæstiones, ut nisi quod ipsi faciunt nihil rectum existimant.* Words which by a little alteration and paraphrase are but too accommodate to the case of our present Dissenters.

“ To the grief of my Soul I have  
 “ often observ’d, how weak and scrupulous minds have been miserably  
 “ perplex’d in matters of Religion,  
 “ by the contentious obstinacy and  
 “ superstitious fearfulness of some who  
 “ seem to be very Godly men. Differences

“ferences arise in matters Indifferent  
“and alterable in their own nature; ;  
“such as the H. Scripture hath not  
“any where particularly determin’d;  
“nor hath any tradition of the Uni-  
“versal Church fix’d them in one  
“certain course; nor can it be said,  
“that for the bettering the lives of  
“men, it must be thus, and may  
“not be so: yet there are Jealousies  
“and scruples in their minds, it may  
“be they remember it otherwise in  
“their times, and where they have  
“lived. It may be they have been  
“as far as *Scotland, Amsterdam, or Ge-*  
“*neva*, and have a greater opinion  
“of what is done abroad: For one  
“reason or other they are litigious  
“and troublesome, and think no-  
“thing well done, but what they do  
“themselves.

From this scrupulosity are men  
apt to call any thing into question,  
and for fear lest they should err on

one

one hand, and run into *superstition* and *Popery*; they run as far on the other; and their Omissions are as *superstitious*, as they fear'd their practice would have been.

Such was the case of the *Jews*, <sup>1 Machab: 2<sup>a</sup></sup> when they were assaulted by their Enemies on the *Sabbath day*; rather than violate the *Sabbath* by defending themselves, they tamely suffer'd themselves to be destroyed. The law of self-preservation could not perswade them to any resistance, and if *Mattathias* had not been wiser than the rest, they might all have perished.

Such also was the *superstition* of the Souldiers in *Sfetigrade*, when *Amurath* besieg'd it (*An. 1449.*) A Traytor in the City had cast a *dead dog*, into the only Well which supplied the City with Water: which when it was espied in the Morning by the Souldiers, no Importunity could perswade

*Knol. Turk. History.*

swade them to drink of that Water which they reputed *Unclean* by a dogs Carcass; so was the Governour compell'd to surrender the City.

And such surely was the conceit of that zealous man some while since among our selves, who cut out of his Bible, the *Contents of the Chapters*, and so would cut out the word of God it self, that was on the other side of the page, rather than suffer any *Humane mixture* with the pure word of God.

Whether the case of our N. C<sup>s</sup>. be not somewhat parallel, is now to be consider'd. They suspect *superstition* in the use of the Surplice and Cross, &c. and therefore Religiously abstain from them; but what if this Abstinence also should be *superstitious*? If the Rites and Ceremonies of our Church be as they imagine, it must be, either because we judge that *lawful* which is *Unlawful*, or that *necessary* which is but *Indifferent*, or  
because

because these Ceremonies though granted in their own nature *Indifferent*, yet by reason of some Accident that attends them, may not be impos'd, and may not be submitted to if impos'd. All which things have already had their Consideration, after all which I have not doubted to conclude, that our Rites may be us'd without *superstition*.

But now I move a doubt on the other side, to which if they cannot give a better Answer than I am aware of, they can't excuse themselves from *superstition*. For what other reasons Conformity may be refus'd I now enquire not. If any refuse it, because they cannot wear a *Surplice*, or use the *Cross*, and if any private persons neglect the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, because they cannot *kneel* as is commanded; I desire to know for what reasons they are not free to join with us in these Usages.

N

Either

Either they think them lawful or Unlawful : If lawful, such as may be submitted to, and yet for some politick respects they will not submit ; this Abstinence of theirs may be free from *superstition*, but some other way it will be as Unaccountable : For he who without violating his Conscience can conform but will not, let him (if he can) excuse his disobedience to the Powers which God hath set over him, let him (if he can) deliver himself from the Character of a contentious man.

If without fraud or guile, there be a man who does not act because he dare not, who is perswaded in his Conscience, he should sin against God, and do that which is Unlawful, if he should wear a *Surplice*, &c. This is the man whom I charge with *superstition*, because he judges that *Unlawful*, which is *Indifferent*, because he proceeds upon a mistake of the



the nature of things, because a false opinion betrays him to this abstinence. He declares hereby that he hath a wrong Notion and apprehension of God, when he thinks him displeas'd by such an Action, against which the Scripture hath not declar'd his displeasure. As men may teach for Doctrines the positive Commands of men, so may they also teach for Doctrines the prohibitions of men; and this is *adding to the word of God*. And in this does *Ames* condition take place. *In illâ Abstinentiâ Honor aliquis singularis Deo intenditur.* They conceit they Honour God by abstaining from that which is no where forbidden. It is no where said, neither in expresse words, nor in any equivalent phrase, That it is the will of God, no man should wear a *white Garment* when he Ministers in Divine Offices; that no man should *kneel*

Medul.  
Theol.  
prius.

when he receives the Sacrament, &c. Wherefore what God hath cleansed, why should we call Common? Where is the man that hath Authority to pronounce that Unclean, which God hath not so pronounc'd? The necessary use of these things when they are commanded, does not take away the *Indifferency* of their nature, and this delivers us from *superstition*: But to abstain from them as *Unlawful* in their nature, does directly contradict the opinion of their *Indifferency*, and leaves the men who so abstain, under the guilt and bond of *superstition*.

So may men find that at a Conventicle, which they are afraid to meet at Church. *Superstition* lodges in the minds of men, and they who are inclin'd to it, may discover it when they sit still, as well as when they move. *Touch not, tast not, handle not*, are not greater Indications of a  
*super*

*superstitious abstinence*, than are wear not, kneel not, *Cross* not; when the Doctrine of these Ceremonies is known to be Innocent and allowable. Wherefore they who are indeed afraid of *superstition*, who are afraid of mixing their own Inventions with the worship of God, and doing that which is not requir'd at their hands, are concern'd rightly to inform themselves, in what they are commanded to do: And when they find that the H. Scripture hath no where forbid the use of the *Surplice* upon those Terms upon which it is enjoin'd, (only the liberty which they themselves had power to determine, is by the Magistrate determin'd for them, not lightly or wantonly, but for grave and weighty reasons) Let them not fear they shall *transgress* where there is no law. Let them not fear *superstition* in those practices to which they are induc'd by

Opinions not *superstitious*. But on the other side let the fear be, lest they make the way to Heaven straiter than our Saviour hath made it. Lest they scruple and condemn that which does not appear unlawful. Lest they split upon *Scylla* while they shun *Charybdis*. Lest they run into *superstition* while they desired to avoid it, and lest an Innocent Ceremony scare them to an Unjustifiable Separation.

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FINIS.

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